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ABSTRACT

This annual publication contains reading materials designed to help students understand the complexities of the domestic and foreign policy issues facing the United States. The first portion of the book features background reading on the structure of the Federal Government. Next, 10 domestic policy issues are covered: the economy, education, civil rights, social programs, health care, immigration, energy, environment, agriculture, and crime. Finally, 10 foreign policy issues are addressed: the Soviet Union, defense, Central America, the Middle East, international trade, Western Europe, nuclear proliferation, world poverty and U.S. foreign aid, South Africa, and Japan. Each section of materials on an issue identifies key questions, provides background reading, formulates the current issues in that area, and, in a separate space headed "The Debate," provides pro and con positions on controversial issues. The teacher's guide contains lesson plans for the introductory material and each issue covered in the book. The lesson plans use instructional strategies that help students develop a variety of citizenship skills. Each lesson includes student objectives; a list of terms and concepts; a focus skill such as collecting, organizing, and analyzing information; and three to five learning activities. The guide also contains unit test materials and answers. (DB)

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Introduction

Each year federal government leaders make decisions about critical issues facing the nation and the world. They develop plans for solving the nation's problems and for conducting relations with other countries. Then they put their plans into action. The process for dealing with the domestic and foreign issues facing the nation is called *public policy*. Developing public policy is the government's way of meeting national goals, such as providing adequate health care, protecting the country militarily, or eliminating drug abuse. In the United States the three branches of the federal government—executive, legislative, and judicial—play different roles in making public policy.

The executive branch, which includes the president, cabinet departments, and federal agencies, has the constitutional duty to execute the laws of the United States. But the president also initiates policies, often represented most clearly by the budget he sends to Congress. After Congress has approved and funded his proposals, the president uses the tools of the administration to carry them out. Overall nearly 3 million Americans work for the executive branch to enforce the government's laws and manage its programs.

The legislative branch—Congress—has a leading role in making public policy. The Constitution gives Congress the power to make defense, tax, commerce, trade, and other policies, as well as the power to allocate funds to implement such policies. Some congressional committees also monitor the executive branch to make sure that cabinet departments and federal agencies are carrying out policies as Congress intended.

The judicial branch—the Supreme Court and lower federal courts—settles disputes between citizens and federal, state, and local governments by interpreting laws made by Congress and treaties and agreements made by the president. The Supreme Court can change public policy decisions by ruling that certain laws or actions of the president are unconstitutional. For example, in 1972 the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty, as then applied by most states, was unconstitutional because it violated the Eighth Amendment ban on cruel and unusual punishment. Then in 1987, the Court determined that because many states had revised their laws, capital punishment was once again constitutional. Although the Supreme Court does not have the power to make or enforce laws, its decisions usually stand as the law of the land unless the Court later overrules a previous decision.

One of the government's most important statements about public policy is the federal budget. The budget is a detailed estimate of the expenditures and revenues that the government plans for a given year. The president and Congress share responsibility for making the budget. The president, through his Office of Management and Budget, submits to Congress a budget reflecting the priorities of his administration. Congress is then responsible for passing the budget and making changes as it sees fit. Congress approves the programs in the budget, gives the money to executive branch agencies to carry out the programs, and raises the money to meet expenses. Thus, the executive and legislative branches set the public policy priorities of the nation by giving large appropriations to agencies and programs thought to be most important and smaller amounts to agencies and programs considered less important.

Names in the Bush Administration

President

George Bush, age sixty-six, was vice president during Ronald Reagan's presidency. At the age of eighteen, he became the youngest commissioned pilot in the U.S. Navy. During World War II, Bush was shot down in a bombing raid in the Pacific Ocean and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. After the war, he founded an oil company in Texas before turning to politics. President Bush has been a U.S. representative from Texas, a United Nations ambassador, an envoy to the People's Republic of China, and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In his first two years as president, Bush declared war on drugs, held an education summit with the nation's governors, met with Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, and sent U.S. armed forces into Panama.

The White House/David Valdez

Vice President

Dan Quayle, age forty-three, served four years as a representative and eight years as a senator from Indiana. As a senator, he specialized in defense, arms control, and labor policy. Before entering politics, he worked as a lawyer and as general manager for the family newspaper business in Huntington, Indiana. Vice President Quayle advises the president on national security issues, heads the Space Council, and is a member of the president's National Security Council.

The White House/David Valdez

Cabinet

Department of Agriculture

Secretary of Agriculture

Clayton K. Yeutter, age sixty, was United States trade representative under President Reagan. He is a lawyer and a former farmer and cattle rancher from Nebraska. He previously served as an assistant secretary in the Department of Agriculture. As the United States trade representative, Yeutter encouraged other countries to remove barriers to U.S. agricultural exports. His selection as secretary of agriculture is seen as an indication that the Bush administration will continue the fight to remove trade barriers.

Department of Commerce

Secretary of Commerce

Robert A. Mosbacher, age sixty-three, is an independent oil and gas producer from Texas. He was a major financial contributor to George Bush's presidential campaign in 1988. Mosbacher says that the Commerce Department can best help American business by promoting economic growth, expanding exports, and assuring fair trade through strict enforcement of international trade laws.

Office of the Secretary of Defense

Secretary of Defense

Richard B. Cheney, age fifty, was a representative from Wyoming for ten years. Under President Gerald Ford, Cheney served as deputy assistant and chief of staff. He has been a strong supporter of the mobile MX nuclear missile and the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles in Europe. He has proposed cuts in the defense budget to reduce spending on defense from its peak in 1985.

Department of Education

Secretary of Education

Lauro F. Cavazos, age sixty-three, became the first Hispanic cabinet member when he took the job of secretary of education in the last months of the Reagan administration. Cavazos has been a professor of anatomy, a dean at Tufts University School of Medicine, and president of Texas Tech University. As a member of state and national higher education councils, he has supported minority student education and special programs on drug and alcohol abuse, AIDS education, and career planning. He wants American schools to raise the graduation rate to 90 percent and to improve test scores in science and mathematics.

Secretary of Energy

Philip Bermingham Photography

James D. Watkins, age sixty-three, is a retired U.S. Navy admiral. Previously, Watkins had been a nuclear submarine skipper and the chief of naval operations. During the Reagan administration, Watkins became the second chairman of the president's commission on AIDS. Many observers believe that he turned the foundering commission into a success. President Bush has charged Watkins with maintaining the safety of the nation's nuclear reactors and developing policies for oil and natural gas exploration.

Secretary of Health and Human Services

Department of Health and Human Services

Louis W. Sullivan, age fifty-seven, is the second consecutive doctor to head the Department of Health and Human Services. He has been a medical researcher, president of the Morehouse University School of Medicine and a professor, dean, and director at the Boston University Medical Center. Sullivan has put special emphasis on minority health programs, medical research, and increasing Medicaid benefits for low-income children and pregnant women.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Jack Kemp, age fifty-five, is a football star turned politician. He was a quarterback for the San Diego Chargers and later for the Buffalo Bills, a team he helped lead to the American Football League

Championship two years in a row. Kemp was a U.S. representative from 1970 until he was nominated to be HUD secretary in 1988. As secretary, Kemp is responsible for federally assisted housing, economic development, and fair housing enforcement.

Secretary of the Interior

Department of the Interior

Manuel Lujan, Jr., age sixty-two, was a U.S. representative from New Mexico for twenty years and the ranking Republican on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee before heading the Interior Department. As secretary, Lujan is responsible for managing 300 million acres of federal land and the nation's natural resources. He has tried to increase the department's reputation as a protector of the environment and has urged the nation to develop its supplies of offshore oil.

Secretary of Labor

Department of Labor

Elizabeth Dole, age fifty-four, is a lawyer. She was the longest-serving secretary of transportation, holding that position for four and a half years in the Reagan administration. During the Nixon and Ford administrations, she served on the Federal Trade Commission. Her goals are to ensure a safe work environment, improve the skills of the nation's workers, and promote good labor-management relations.

Secretary of State

The White House

James A. Baker III, age sixty, was President Reagan's chief of staff in his first term and treasury secretary in his second term. Baker is noted for his ability to work with Congress and for his knowledge of global economic relations. He is faced with the task of developing and implementing foreign policies for the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and Central America.

Secretary of Transportation
Samuel K. Skinner, age fifty-two, a lawyer and experienced pilot, was chairman of Chicago's mass transit system for five years before joining the Bush administration. He believes that state and local governments as well as users of the nation's transportation system should pay for it. According to Skinner, the role of the federal government should be to provide funds to communities that contribute a high share of their own money for transportation needs. He wants the federal government to modernize and expand the nation's air traffic system.

Department of Transportation

Secretary of the Treasury
Nicholas F. Brady, age sixty, was appointed secretary of the treasury by President Reagan at the end of his second term and has continued in that position in the Bush administration. Brady was a member of several presidential commissions under Reagan, including the Task Force on Market Mechanisms that examined the October 1987 stock market crash. For most of his career, Brady was a Wall Street banker. As treasury secretary, he developed the "Brady Plan" to help Third World countries repay their debts to private U.S. banks.

Department of the Treasury

Secretary of Veterans Affairs
Edward J. Derwinski, age sixty-four, is the first secretary of the nation's newest cabinet department, the Department of Veterans Affairs. Derwinski directs the government's second largest department and is responsible for the health care services and benefits programs for America's 27 million veterans. He is a former representative from Illinois, delegate to the United Nations, and undersecretary of state.

Department of Veterans Affairs

Attorney General
Dick Thornburgh, age fifty-eight, became attorney general in the last months of the Reagan administration. In the 1970s, Thornburgh headed

Department of Justice

the Justice Department's criminal division after serving as a U.S. attorney in Pennsylvania. He then served two terms as governor of Pennsylvania. Thornburgh was the first attorney general in eight years to argue a case before the Supreme Court when he urged the Court to uphold the Reagan administration's plans for drug-testing programs.

Key Presidential Advisers

White House Chief of Staff

The White House

John H. Sununu, age fifty-one, was governor of New Hampshire from 1983 until becoming President Bush's chief of staff in 1989. He has been a mechanical engineer and a professor at Tufts University. Sununu oversees the daily activities of the White House including domestic and foreign policy development, presidential scheduling, communications, and relations with the media, Congress, cabinet members, and state and local governments.

National Security Adviser

The White House

Brent Scowcroft, age sixty-five, served as national security adviser under President Gerald Ford from 1975 to 1977. In the Reagan administration, he headed a commission that suggested a method for deploying the MX nuclear missile. In 1975, Scowcroft retired as a lieutenant general from the air force. In 1989, he visited China to try to improve U.S.-Chinese relations after the United States had imposed sanctions against the Chinese government.

Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

Central Intelligence Agency

William H. Webster, age sixty-six, became the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1987. Previously, he was director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for nine years. Webster is a lawyer and served as a federal district judge for many years. In 1984-86 he took strong disciplinary actions against CIA officials who helped supply illegal military aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Richard G. Darman, age forty-seven, has held positions in the Reagan White House and in the Defense, Justice, Commerce, State, Treasury, and former Health, Education, and Welfare Departments. As deputy to the chief of staff under President Reagan, Darman negotiated the budget and tax cuts of 1981. Later as deputy secretary of the Treasury, he helped win congressional approval of tax-overhaul proposals. In his current position, Darman is responsible for creating a deficit reduction plan and negotiating the president's budget proposals with members of Congress.

Ambassador to the United Nations

Department of State

Thomas R. Pickering, age fifty-nine, is a career foreign service officer. During the Reagan years, he served as ambassador to two politically important countries, El Salvador and Israel. Pickering was also ambassador to Jordan in the mid-1970s, assistant secretary of state for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs under President Jimmy Carter, and ambassador to Nigeria from 1981-83. He speaks five languages.

United States Trade Representative

Office of the U.S. Trade Representative

Carla A. Hills, age fifty-six, is a lawyer and author of a book on antitrust law, a subject she taught at the University of California at Los Angeles Law School. During the Ford administration, she was secretary of Housing and Urban Development. As trade representative, Hills represents the United States in international trade negotiations and rules on unfair-trade cases brought by U.S. companies against other countries. She is also responsible for carrying out U.S. trade laws.

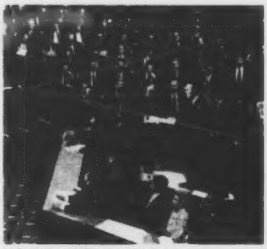
Director of National Drug Control Policy

Department of Education

William J. Bennett, age forty-seven, is the nation's first director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. While he was President Reagan's education secretary, Bennett wrote *Schools Without Drugs*, a handbook for the department's efforts to prevent drug use by school children. Bennett's strategy to fight drugs includes more drug enforcement agents, customs officials, prison spaces, drug education programs, and treatment facilities.

The Congress

Since 1987, Republican presidents have occupied the White House, while the Democrats have held majorities in both houses of Congress. The 101st Congress (1989-90) saw Democrats outnumbering Republicans 257 to 175 in the House of Representatives and 55 to 45 in the Senate. In the 1990 congressional elections, Democrats campaigned to increase or at least maintain their majorities. On the other hand, Republicans hoped that by winning more seats in Congress they could enact more of the policies proposed by President George Bush. A divided government, where the president is from one party and Congress is controlled by the other, often causes conflict between the two branches over what policies are best for the nation.



U.S. House of Representatives

A joint session of Congress meets to hear President George Bush.

Throughout much of the past decade, decisions over how the government should spend money have led to conflicts between the legislative and executive branches. Republican Presidents Reagan and Bush have often asked for increased defense spending, while Democrat-controlled Congresses have stressed legislation for new social programs such as child care, worker health insurance, increased minimum wage, and home care for the elderly. Although Congress creates programs and sets aside money to fund them, presidents can refuse to spend the money for programs they oppose. Debates between the president and Congress over federal spending are likely to continue.

Congress and presidents have also clashed over foreign policy issues. For example, the Constitution gives the president the power to make treaties with other countries "by and with the advice and consent" of the Senate, but presidents have often made executive agreements with other nations that do not require the Senate's consent. Also, several presidents have sent U.S. troops overseas without asking Congress for a declaration of war. Congress emphasized its conflict with the president in 1973 by passing a law limiting the president's power to send troops to fight in other countries.

Divided governments may increase the chances of dispute between the branches, but problems arise even when the president and Congress are controlled by the same party. On some issues, members of the same party simply do not agree, and the president cannot always count on support from members of his own party. In many ways, Congress is like a smaller version of the United States, where people, regardless of their political party, have differing opinions. But, through debate and a desire to work together for the common good, members of Congress often find ways to compromise on legislation that they can pass and that will be acceptable to the president.

Who's Who in the 102nd Congress?

Each session of Congress brings change in the leadership of both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Competition for committee assignments is intense. Both parties want to place their members in powerful committee chairs so that they have better control over the legislative process. Who's who in the 102nd Congress? See if you can fill in the name of the senator or representative, party affiliation, and state for each of the key positions listed.

Senate

President *Pro Tempore*

Majority Leader

Majority Whip

Minority Leader

Minority Whip

Committee Chairs

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

Appropriations

Armed Services

Budget

Energy and Natural Resources

Environment and Public Works

Foreign Relations

Intelligence

Judiciary

Rules and Administration

House of Representatives

Speaker of the House

Majority Leader

Majority Whip

Minority Leader

Minority Whip

Committee Chairs

Agriculture

Appropriations

Armed Services

Budget

Education and Labor

Energy and Commerce

Foreign Affairs

Intelligence

Judiciary

Rules

The Supreme Court

The legislative branch makes the laws, the executive branch enforces the laws, and the judicial branch—with the Supreme Court as its ultimate authority—interprets the laws and the Constitution. Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the approval of the Senate. Justices serve for life or until they resign or retire.

The decisions of the Supreme Court can play a major role in shaping American political and social life. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, made sweeping changes in civil and individual rights, banned school prayer, and upheld the principle of "one person, one vote." However, when Warren Burger became the chief justice in 1969, the Supreme Court challenged many of the decisions made by the Court under Earl Warren. Whereas the Warren Court had emphasized the protection of the civil liberties of minorities, the Burger Court often held that the rights of minorities should not infringe on the rights of the majority. And while the Warren Court had established strict procedures for police to ensure that the rights of those accused of crimes were not violated, the Burger Court ruled that law enforcement authorities may commit minor, unintentional violations of some constitutional liberties to prevent guilty defendants from going free.

In recent years the makeup of the Supreme Court has undergone major changes. During his eight years in office, President Ronald Reagan appointed three new associate justices and a chief justice to the Court. In 1981, Reagan appointed

The 1989-1990 Supreme Court, from left to right: Thurgood Marshall, Antonin Scalia, William J. Brennan, Jr., John Paul Stevens, William H. Rehnquist, Sandra Day O'Connor, Byron R. White, Anthony M. Kennedy, and Harry A. Blackmun.

Supreme Court Historical Society

Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court as an associate justice. Then, in 1986, when Chief Justice Burger retired, President Reagan chose Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist to be the new chief justice. Reagan then named former Federal Court of Appeals Judge Antonin Scalia to take Rehnquist's place as an associate justice. In 1987, President Reagan had the opportunity to appoint his third Supreme Court justice when Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. retired. The president chose Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Anthony Kennedy, who became a member of the Supreme Court in February 1988.

Most observers expect the Supreme Court to reflect the conservative philosophy of Ronald Reagan for many years to come. All three of his appointees to the Court are in their fifties and are expected to stay in office well into the next century. Several recent Supreme Court decisions have reflected Reagan's philosophy. For example, the Court recently allowed states to impose some restrictions on abortions and has agreed to hear other abortion cases that will further define how far courts can go in preventing women from ending their pregnancies.

Further changes in the makeup of the Court may be forthcoming. Three current justices are in their eighties. Therefore, President George Bush, like his predecessor, may have the opportunity to exert a strong influence on the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court

Justice	Age	Appointed By	Year Appointed
William J. Brennan, Jr.	84	Eisenhower	1956
Byron R. White	73	Kennedy	1962
Thurgood Marshall	82	Johnson	1967
Harry A. Blackmun	82	Nixon	1970
William H. Rehnquist*	66	Nixon	1972
John Paul Stevens	70	Ford	1975
Sandra Day O'Connor	60	Reagan	1981
Antonin Scalia	54	Reagan	1986
Anthony Kennedy	54	Reagan	1987

*Chief Justice

The Federal Budget

Each year the president and Congress make a budget of expenses and anticipated revenues for the federal government. They must decide how much money the government will spend on defense, health care, foreign aid, and hundreds of other federal programs. In addition, lawmakers must determine how much tax revenue is needed to support these programs, how much the government can expect to receive, and whether to raise or lower taxes.

Executive Branch Budget Process. In the executive branch, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is responsible for drawing up the president's budget for the upcoming fiscal year. (The fiscal year begins on October 1 and ends on September 30.) The president relies on the OMB director to produce a budget reflecting the priorities of the administration.

The OMB develops a budget by first analyzing the proposed annual spending plans of each federal agency. Every year OMB asks government agencies to estimate the cost of their programs for the next five fiscal years. OMB then revises agency budgets to conform with administration policy and budgeting goals. The president submits his budget to Congress on the first Monday after Congress convenes its new session.

The Budget Process for Fiscal Year 1992

Spring 1990
Office of Management and Budget (OMB) assigns government agencies a maximum amount for their budget proposals.

Summer 1990
Agencies submit their proposed budgets to OMB. Agency directors meet with OMB executives and the president's staff to justify proposed spending and to finalize the budget.

January 1991
The president submits his budget proposal to Congress on the first Monday after January 3.

February 15, 1991
Congressional committees submit program estimates to budget committees.

April 15, 1991
Budget committees report the first budget resolution. The resolution sets targets for government spending by Congress.

May 15, 1991
Committees report authorization bills; Congress completes action on first budget resolution. Until the first budget resolution is adopted, neither house may consider authorization or spending bills or changes in tax revenues or the national debt.

May–August 1991
Congress completes action on all budget and spending bills.

September 15, 1991
Congress completes action on a reconciliation bill to bring the budget in line with spending bills. Congress may not adjourn until it finishes these measures.

October 1, 1991
Fiscal year 1992 begins.

Congressional Budget Process. Congress has a crucial role in the budget process. No government agency or program can operate without receiving approval and funding from Congress. Congress grants approval by passing an *authorization bill*, which states the goals of a program, the rules and regulations that Congress believes are necessary, and the amount that the agency can spend on the program. Congress must also approve a separate *appropriation bill*, which actually gives the agency its money.

Congress is also responsible for raising the money for the government. Congress raises money by creating new taxes, maintaining or increasing existing taxes, or authorizing the Treasury Department to borrow money to make up the difference between money collected and money spent.

Congress usually considers authorization, appropriation, and revenue-raising bills separately. For many years, these separate steps made it difficult for legislators to keep track of the total amount the government was spending. However, in 1974, Congress added an additional step to the budget-making process. The House and Senate must now approve a joint budget resolution, setting guidelines for how much the government can spend in any area and predicting how much revenue it will take in. Later in the year, Congress passes a second budget resolution, reflecting changes in the economy and in expected revenue. If appropriation bills already passed by Congress exceed the new limits, Congress uses a *reconciliation bill* to bring spending within the limits set by the second budget resolution.

The Budget Deficit. The biggest problem facing policymakers today is the federal budget deficit—the difference between the amount of money taken in and the amount spent in a year. Budget deficits have existed for the past twenty years, but recently, they reached unprecedented proportions. A record deficit in 1982 grew for several years before dropping to $152 billion in 1989. Most experts agree that recent budget deficits were caused by increased government spending coupled with decreased tax revenues.

Despite budget cuts in some programs over the last several years, overall government spending has actually increased. Increases can be attributed to the military buildup of the 1980s, automatic hikes for social security and other benefits, and high interest rates. At the same time that spending was going up, government tax collections were going down.

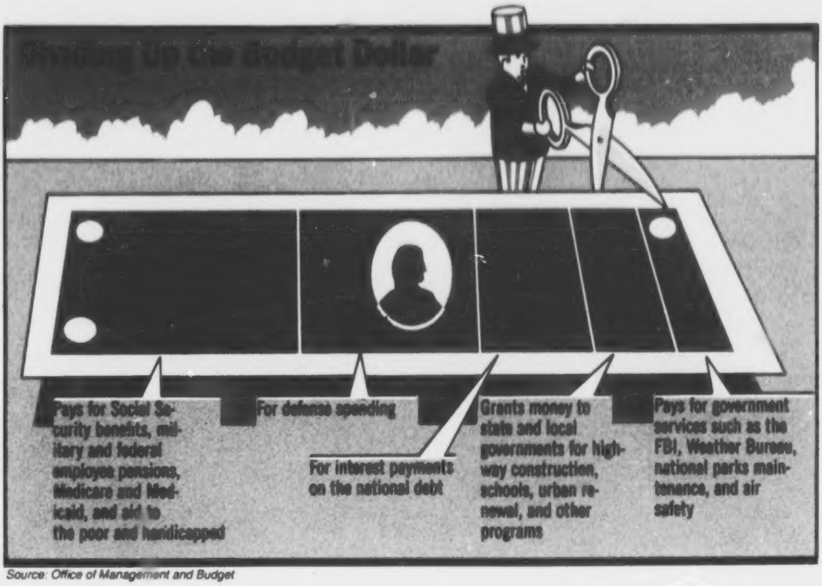
In an effort to revive a sagging economy, Congress agreed in 1981 to President Ronald Reagan's plan to cut personal income taxes by 25 percent. The tax cut would give consumers more money to spend on consumer goods, thereby increasing the profits of many companies. Increased profits would automatically mean increased tax revenues from corporations. However, after the tax cuts were enacted, the economy entered a recession. Companies were unable to sell their products and had to lay off workers. With people out of work and corporate profits down, the government took in far less tax revenue than expected. As a result, the deficit grew.

Balancing the Budget. The options available to the president and Congress for reducing the budget deficit are limited. Of the more than $1.23 trillion being spent in fiscal year 1991, 43 cents of every budget dollar goes for direct payments to individuals in the form of social security benefits, military pensions, or aid to the handicapped.

The next 25 cents goes for the nation's defense. Although the defense budget has increased in actual dollars under President George Bush, the percentage of the entire federal budget spent on defense has decreased. For example, under President Reagan, defense spending accounted for as much as 29 cents of every budget dollar.

Fourteen cents of every budget dollar pays the interest on the national debt—nearly $3 trillion. Interest payments will not decrease until the government reduces the annual deficit consistently.

Essential government services such as the National Weather Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Federal Aviation Administration cost 6 cents of the budget dollar. Many of these programs have already had their budgets cut, and budget experts agree that cutting them more would limit the government's ability to provide such services smoothly and safely.


Dividing Up the Budget Dollar
Pays for Social Security benefits, military and federal employee pensions, Medicare and Medicaid, and aid to the poor and handicapped
For defense spending
For interest payments on the national debt
Grants money to state and local governments for highway construction, schools, urban renewal, and other programs
Pays for government services such as the FBI, Weather Bureau, national parks maintenance, and air safety

Source: Office of Management and Budget

The remaining 12 cents goes to state and local governments for programs such as highway construction, schools, and urban renewal projects and may be a target for cuts. However, savings in this category would not dent the overall national debt.

One option available to reduce the federal budget deficit is to raise taxes. However, President Bush and many members of Congress are firmly opposed to any increases in taxes. They believe that tax increases hamper economic growth by taking money away from individuals and by making businesses spend a larger share of their profits on taxes instead of on investments to improve and expand their companies. A second option to reduce the deficit is to reduce government spending.

Over the last decade, Congress considered a number of spending reduction plans, including a constitutional amendment that would require a balanced federal budget. The balanced budget

The Federal Budget

In January 1990, President Bush submitted a budget for fiscal year 1991 for $1.23 trillion. The budget also estimates spending for fiscal year 1992.

(outlays in billions of dollars)

	FY90	**FY91**	**FY92**
National Defense	$ 296.3	$ 303.3	$ 309.2
International Affairs	14.6	18.2	19.4
General Science, Space, and Technology	14.1	16.6	19.4
Energy	3.2	3.0	3.1
Natural Resources and Environment	17.5	18.2	18.9
Agriculture	14.6	14.9	15.6
Commerce and Housing Credit	22.7	17.2	10.3
Transportation	29.3	29.8	30.2
Community and Regional Development	8.8	7.8	6.5
Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services	37.7	41.0	42.9
Health	57.8	63.7	69.9
Medicare	96.6	98.6	110.1
Income Security	146.6	153.7	159.6
Social Security	248.5	264.8	280.9
Veterans Benefits and Services	28.9	30.3	31.0
Administration of Justice	10.5	12.6	13.9
General Government (Congress, Treasury Department, and Government Services Administration)	10.6	11.3	11.9
Net Interest	175.6	173.0	163.9
Allowances (civilian pay raises)	0.0	-1.1	-1.1
Undistributed Offsetting Receipts (civilian retirement contributions and income earned from leasing or sale of government assets)	-36.4	-43.6	-43.8
Totals*			
Budget Outlays**	$1,197.2	$1,233.3	$1,271.4
Revenues	$1,073.5	$1,170.2	$1,246.4
Deficit	$ -123.8	$ -63.1	$ -25.1
Gross Federal Debt	$3,113.3	$3,176.4	$3,201.5

*Totals include credit reform and proposed loan asset sales.

**Note: Discrepancies may occur due to rounding of budget figures.

amendment has not been popular in Congress. Another more successful plan has been the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act (also called Gramm-Rudman-Hollings after the bill's primary sponsors).

The first Gramm-Rudman-Hollings act, passed in 1986, required the federal government to reduce the deficit to zero by 1991. However, certain provisions were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Congress then rewrote the law and it went into effect in September 1987. The new Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law requires Congress to meet a budget target every year or face automatic budget cuts instituted by the president. Under the terms of the act, Congress must reduce the deficit to zero by 1993.

The Second Bush Budget. In January 1990, President Bush presented Congress with his budget for fiscal year 1991. In his message, the president emphasized that the government needs a budget that will promote continued economic growth, meet U.S. commitments to provide social programs for America's needy and to defend its allies, and reduce the nation's deficit. The president's budget called for increased spending or new programs in the following areas:

- Education. The Bush budget adds $1.2 billion to the education budget, increasing it to $24.6 billion. He called for $500 million to expand the Head Start preschool program, a 36 percent increase over 1990.
- Environment. President Bush proposed an increase of $2 billion for environmental programs including accelerating the clean up of hazardous waste sites and adding a new program, "America the Beautiful," that will protect public lands and natural resources and promote reforestation.

- AIDS programs. President Bush requested an 18 percent increase in funding for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) research, treatment, and prevention programs.
- War on drugs. President Bush asked for a total of $9.7 billion for drug enforcement and education, an increase of 41 percent over 1990.

The president also requested $303.3 billion for defense, an increase of 2.3 percent over 1990, which is less than annual inflation rates. The second Bush budget totaled $1.23 trillion, with an estimated $63.1 billion deficit—less than the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings target of $64 billion for fiscal year 1991. And according to the president, all of this would be accomplished without tax increases.

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Introduction

The decisions of the federal government affect the everyday lives of most Americans. The government inspects the nation's food, guarantees workers a minimum wage, and helps families buy homes. Each year lawmakers face difficult decisions about the level of government involvement in the lives of its citizens. Of course, the Constitution sets certain limits. For example, the First Amendment protects Americans from government interference by guaranteeing them freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. However, there are areas of life in which the government can—and does—become involved.

For the first 150 years of the republic, the federal government was relatively uninvolved in the lives of the people. Decisions about everyday life were left to state and local governments and to private individuals and businesses. But as the country's population and wealth grew and as life became more complex, the federal government began to take more and more responsibility for the nation's "general welfare."

The Great Depression of the 1930s radically changed the role of the federal government. Many social programs were begun during the Great Depression to help needy citizens. The president and many members of Congress believed that the federal government needed to become involved because economic ruin was widespread and overwhelmed state and local governments were unable to care for people who needed help. Thus, the government began programs to protect farmers and consumers from changes in food prices. It gave people jobs and started the social security program, which gave money to the unemployed, the elderly, and the handicapped. Eventually the federal government took over many responsibilities formerly assumed by state and local governments.

By the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson, in his effort to eliminate poverty, called for federal programs to provide the poor with education, jobs, medical care, food, and housing. He also encouraged Congress to pass laws prohibiting discrimination in housing, public accommodations, and voting. In the 1970s, the government became involved in the energy industry to deal with problems created by oil embargoes. And Congress established the Environmental Protection Agency to coordinate the nation's efforts to clean up its air and water.

Since the Great Depression, many Americans believed that only the federal government could solve such issues because they were widespread problems requiring national solutions. They thought that the government should ensure that doctors treat poor patients, that employers hire minorities, and that farmers use safe chemicals on their crops. They also claimed that only the federal government could guarantee that all citizens receive fair and equal treatment in education, housing, and employment. These people saw government regulation of many aspects of American life as a necessity.

But today some policymakers contend that the federal government is too involved in the lives of its citizens. They believe that the federal government uses its power to make decisions that should be made by states, communities, and individuals. Many Americans say that the federal government needs to reduce its role in some areas because it cannot afford to pay for every program.

When lawmakers pass legislation, they need to decide how involved the federal government should be. Therefore, the challenge for members of Congress is determining which decisions are best made by the federal government and which decisions it should allow states, businesses, and individuals to make for themselves.

The Economy

The United States is in one of the largest economic expansions in its history. Inflation and unemployment are low, and the financial well-being of many Americans has never been better.

However, some economists are concerned that the U.S. economy is not as sound as it appears. They cite the low productivity rate of U.S. workers compared with workers in many other industrialized countries. Higher productivity rates have allowed some foreign companies to sell their products at lower prices than U.S. companies. Some American factories have had to close because they could not compete with less expensive foreign products. And, each year since the mid-1970s the United States has had a trade deficit because it imports more goods from other countries than it exports.

Economists are also concerned because the government spends more money than it takes in each year. They warn that the resulting budget deficit threatens America's economic health because it forces the government to borrow more money to pay its bills.

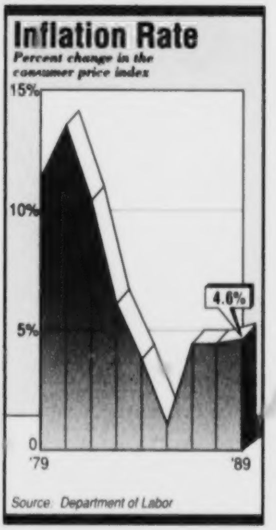
Reducing the budget deficit is a major priority for President George Bush and Congress. By law, the deficit must be reduced to zero by 1993. To accomplish this, the government must raise more money in taxes, spend less, or do both. President Bush opposes new taxes, so Congress and the president will be forced to cut spending. Many lawmakers expect some cuts in defense, but some social programs may also be cut. The president, members of Congress, and the American people will face tough choices as they try to provide for the needs of the nation on a limited budget.

Key Questions

- Should the government raise taxes to reduce the budget deficit?
- Should the government lower the capital gains tax?
- Should the government cut the trade deficit by lowering the value of the dollar?

Background

Factors in Economic Policy



Source: Department of Labor

The rate of inflation measures how fast the prices for goods and services increase. Unless it is accompanied by a comparable rise in wages, inflation lowers a person's standard of living.

Inflation. Simply stated, inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services. The higher the rate of inflation, the faster prices go up. The inflation rate declined from 13.5 percent in 1980 to 4.6 percent in 1989. Some economists believe that a 2 percent annual rate of inflation actually spurs economic growth.

One danger of inflation is that, unless accompanied by a comparable rise in wages, it lowers a family's standard of living. Inflation particularly hurts people living on fixed incomes such as the elderly and those who depend on government-sponsored social programs.

A high rate of inflation also induces people to buy on credit and to forgo saving money. The economy suffers when individuals do not save money, because then banks have less money to loan for investments in new homes, businesses, and industrial equipment.

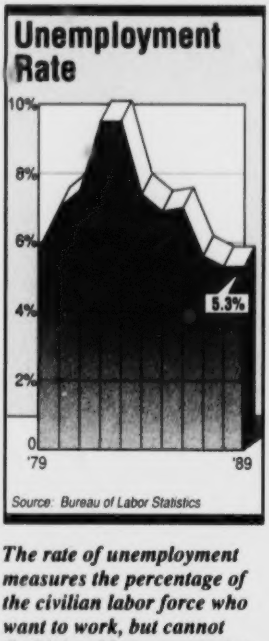
The government can control inflation through a variety of means. For example, the president can order wage controls, thereby reducing the amount of money available for spending. When there is less demand for goods and services, prices eventually fall back to acceptable levels. Another way the government can control inflation is through the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed), which determines the amount of money circulating in the economy. The Fed can reduce—or *tighten*—the money supply by raising interest rates (the price one must pay to borrow money). When interest rates rise, consumer spending decreases and prices fall.

Recession. A recession occurs during a period of economic slowdown. Recessions are usually marked by a decline in production, spending, and consumer demand. One danger of recession is high unemployment.

To stimulate economic growth, the Fed can *ease money* by lowering interest rates and making more money available to banks for lending. For example, fearing a recession after the stock market "crash" in 1987, the Fed lowered interest rates. This encouraged businesses to go forward with plans for expansion, thereby reducing the danger of increased unemployment.

Another way the government deals with a recession is by reducing taxes. Lowering taxes puts more cash in consumers' pockets. More available cash encourages consumer spending on goods and services, such as new homes, new cars, and travel.

Historically, the U.S. economy has gone through cycles of recession and recovery. The last recession, during 1981-82, was followed by the greatest economic recovery in U.S. history.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The rate of unemployment measures the percentage of the civilian labor force who want to work, but cannot find jobs. Many economists believe that the economy is at "full employment" when unemployment reaches 4 percent, because there are always some people moving from one job to another.

Unemployment. The rate of unemployment refers to the percentage of people who want to work but cannot find jobs. Because there are always people between jobs, the unemployment rate is never zero. At the end of 1989, 5.3 percent of American workers were unemployed. Many economists consider the economy to have *full employment* when only 4 percent of the employable population is looking for work.

Traditionally, unemployment hits some groups harder than others—minorities more than whites, females more than males, teenagers more than adults. Minority teenagers have an unemployment rate of 34.5 percent, the highest in the country. Unemployment is particularly hard on older workers who have spent their lives in heavy manufacturing, such as the automobile and steel industries. When American companies build new factories in developing countries, where workers are paid lower salaries, and factories in the United States close because there is less demand for their products, many workers lose their jobs.

Unemployment also affects the government. When more people are out of work and not paying taxes, the government takes in less revenue. At the same time it pays out more in unemployment compensation. High unemployment during the early 1980s was partly responsible for the rising federal deficit.

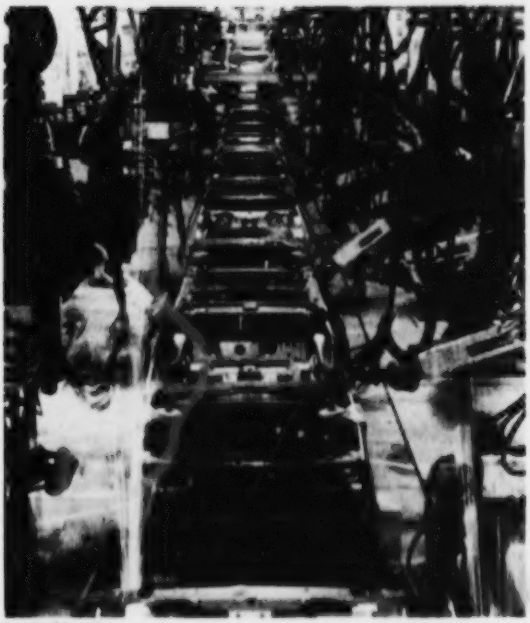
In times of high unemployment, the government uses different tactics to create new jobs. For example, during the Great Depression of the 1930s the Roosevelt administration hired millions of Americans to do public works projects, such as planting forests, stringing power lines in rural areas, and constructing public buildings, bridges, and dams. The government can also lower taxes and interest rates to encourage businesses to expand and hire more workers.

Productivity. Productivity refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour. A rising rate of productivity usually leads to higher wages, higher profits, and lower prices. Historically, newer, more efficient machinery and technological advances have enabled American workers to produce more with the same amount of effort. But since the 1960s, productivity in many foreign countries—particularly Japan—has surpassed that of the United States. This increase in foreign productivity means that products made in other countries are often less expensive than comparable products made in the United States. As a result, they sell better. During the 1980s, American productivity rose about 1.4 percent per year, a rate lower than in many other industrialized countries.

The increasing productivity of foreign competitors continues to challenge American manufacturers. Companies must either spend millions of dollars to modernize their factories or give up

Productivity

The growth rate of American productivity is increasing again. From 1947 to 1966, American productivity increased at a rate of 3.3 percent per year. During the 1970s, the rate dropped below one percent. However, since 1979, productivity has been increasing at a rate of 1.4 percent per year.



Chrysler Corporation

The increasing productivity of foreign competitors continues to challenge many American industries. Every year, U.S. companies must invest millions of dollars to modernize factories, retrain workers, and improve quality control.

manufacturing in the United States altogether. Some manufacturers improve their productivity. Others become discouraged by high interest rates that make borrowing money for modernization too expensive, by government regulations that require safety and antipollution devices on new machinery, and by high wages for American workers. These manufacturers may close their factories permanently or move their operations to developing countries, where wages and operating standards are below those in the United States.

International Interdependence. Because the United States is one of the world's largest exporters and importers, the U.S. economy has been called an "engine of growth" for the rest of the world. The huge market for foreign goods in this country, including food, clothing, and automobiles, creates jobs overseas and keeps foreign workers employed.

Similarly, the health of the U.S. economy depends on how well our products sell in foreign markets. During the 1980s, many Americans lost their jobs because sales of U.S. products declined overseas. Many American manufacturers laid off workers when their export sales dropped.

Ironically, economic conditions in the United States often help to create the conditions abroad that cause U.S. exports to decline. For example, the economies of many nations, especially developing ones, rely on the United States as a market for their exports. If American consumers cut back on the purchase of products imported from developing countries, reduced sales in the United States may in turn force a recession in developing countries, causing high unemployment, lower wages, and less demand for American goods as well.

In addition, developing countries rely on American banks to loan them billions of dollars to finance their industrial development. If U.S. interest rates go up, developing countries often cannot pay the interest on those loans without making large economic sacrifices, which might include reducing imports from the United States.

Thus, economic conditions in the United States can create harsh economic problems for many developing countries.

The Reagan Economic Legacy

"Reaganomics." When Ronald Reagan became president in 1981, he proposed a new economic philosophy to solve the nation's economic woes. Previous presidents had followed the *Keynesian* economic approach, which relies on government spending to stimulate a sagging economy. President Reagan's new economic policy, called *supply-side economics,* was based on the belief that the government should take a limited role in the economy. Supply-side economics operates on the principle that the economy will flourish if busi-

TWO-THIRDS OF DEMOCRATIC PLAN'S' TAX INCREASES AND DEFENSE CUTS GO TO HUGE DOMESTIC SPENDING RISE
DOMESTIC

Jack Kightlinger/The White House

President Ronald Reagan believed that the government's role in the economy should be limited. His economic plans called for decreased government spending on domestic programs, limited government regulation of business and industry, and lower personal income taxes.

nesses and consumers are allowed to pursue their own interests within a free marketplace, not controlled by the federal government.

President Reagan thought that the economy was hurt by a huge tax burden. He believed that the best incentive to economic growth was a tax cut, which would give businesses and consumers more cash in hand. Lower taxes were also the key to high productivity, since more money would be available for investment in new, more efficient machinery and for technological advances. An increase in profits would automatically increase tax revenues, thereby reducing the budget deficit naturally, without inflation and government interference. In 1981, Congress approved the largest tax cut in history.

Tax Reform. In 1986, President Reagan signed into law a new tax code to change the way the government collects revenues. The tax law (1) freed many poor people from paying any federal taxes; (2) lowered corporate and individual tax rates; (3) increased *exemptions* (a portion of income that is not taxed); and (4) eliminated many tax shelters for individuals, corporations, and investors. One of the changes in the new code was an increase in the tax rate for capital gains, which are profits from the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate. The 1986 tax act required capital gains to be taxed at the same rate as other sources of income, instead of at a lower rate. President Reagan believed that these changes would spread the tax burden more fairly among individuals and encourage businesses to expand.

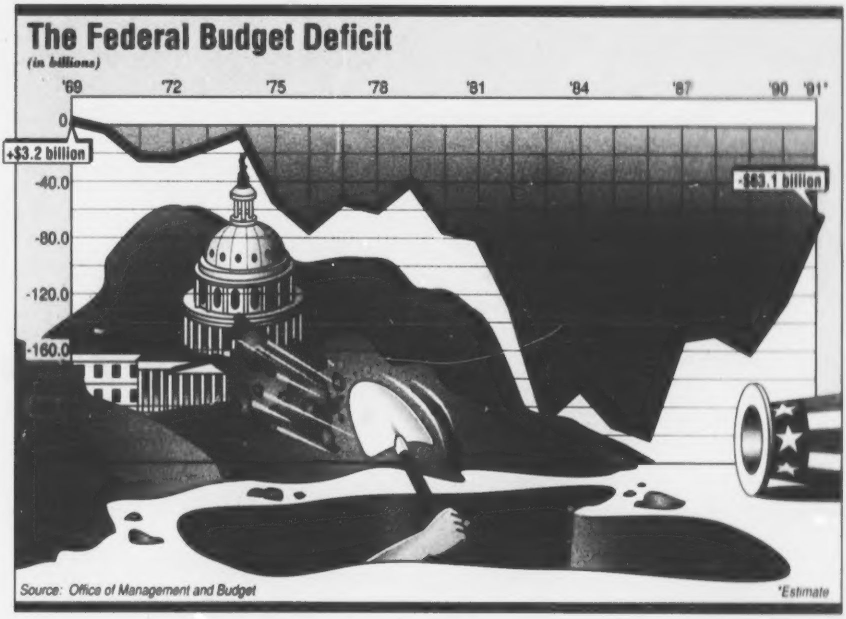
The Growing Budget Deficit. Although President Reagan hoped his plans would balance the federal budget, he was never able to control government spending. The budget deficit tripled during the Reagan years. The deficit grew because heavy increases in defense spending helped overall government spending to increase and because the 1981 tax cut did not bolster tax revenues as the president had thought.

Because the government spends more money than it receives in taxes, it must borrow money to cover the deficit and to pay interest on money borrowed in previous years. At the beginning of fiscal year 1990, the annual budget deficit stood at about $152 billion, down from the high of over $220 billion in 1986. But the total federal debt—the accumulation of all annual budget deficits—keeps growing: it now stands at more than $3 trillion. The government pays the holders of this debt—mostly individuals, banks, and corporations—more than $170 billion a year in interest alone. Payment on the national debt is the third largest component of the federal budget, behind defense and entitlement programs such as social security and Medicare.

In recent years, Congress has considered several proposals to deal with the budget deficit including a constitutional amendment that would require a balanced budget. So far Congress has

Foreign Investment

The U.S. Commerce Department estimates that total foreign investments in the United States now exceed $1.5 billion. Japanese investors finance nearly 30 percent of the budget deficit by buying American Treasury bonds.



The budget deficit measures the difference between the amount of money the government takes in and the amount of money it spends each year. In the last decade, policymakers have considered tax increases, spending cuts, and a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget as possible ways to lower the deficit.

rejected the balanced budget amendment; but in 1986, it passed the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act—better known as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act. This law required the government to reduce the deficit to zero by 1991. However, certain provisions of the bill were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Congress then rewrote Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and it went into effect in September 1987. The law requires Congress to meet a budget target every year or face automatic cuts. The law also requires Congress to reduce the federal budget deficit to zero by 1993.

Current Issues

Budget Deficit. President Bush supports the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings goal of balancing the nation's budget by 1993. In fact, he projects a $5.7 billion budget surplus by 1993. Under President Bush's plan, spending in some areas—such as energy and commerce—would be reduced, while budgets for high priority programs such as AIDS research, education, and antidrug campaigns would be increased. The president plans to balance the budget without imposing new taxes. He believes that a tax increase would reduce the incomes of individuals and corporations. And with fewer dollars, American families would save less, and corporations would not be able to invest money for expansion and improvements.

Some members of Congress disagree with President Bush. They claim that his budget will not go far enough toward reducing the deficit. The president's critics say that his budget has relied more on accounting tricks, such as taking parts of some programs "off-budget" or moving some payments to the previous year's budget, than it has on real budget cuts. Some critics say that many federal programs already have budgets that are too low and that the only alternative left is increasing taxes. They argue that higher taxes are preferable to cutting existing federal programs. Some members of Congress have suggested raising taxes on gasoline, tobacco, and alcohol. Other proposals would increase the income tax rate for the rich, eliminate some tax deductions, or impose a tax on government pension payments.

Capital Gains Tax. President Bush has proposed lowering one tax, the tax on capital gains. He argues that this tax cut would increase the incomes of small business owners, who are the most productive American workers. The president believes that lowering the tax rate on capital gains would promote savings, entrepreneurial activity, and investment. The increased savings and investment would help companies expand and increase their competitiveness, thereby spurring economic

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Many lawmakers worry that an increase in taxes will produce a slowdown in the economy. They fear that if taxes are raised, Americans will make fewer purchases, hurting U.S. businesses.

growth in the entire economy. The president expects that the tax cut would actually increase the government's revenue from taxes. As companies use the tax cut to increase productivity and hire more workers, the government will receive more money from taxes on the higher incomes of the companies and their employees.

Some members of Congress oppose the president's plan. They say that the government cannot afford to lower taxes when it is trying to balance the budget. They claim that the tax cut will add to the deficit. They also say that the capital gains tax cut will undermine the tax reforms of 1986, when President Reagan tried to make all taxpayers share the tax burden fairly. Opponents of the cut argue that it would lower taxes for the wealthy, not middle- or lower-class taxpayers, who seldom own stocks, bonds, and real estate. These critics say that it is not fair for the wealthy to pay taxes at lower rates than middle- or lower-class taxpayers.

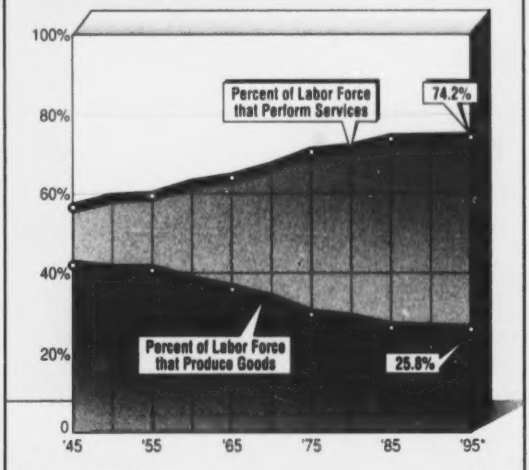
Trade Deficit. The United States imports far more goods than it exports. In 1989, the United States had a trade deficit of $109 billion. Many economists say that huge U.S. trade deficits have caused the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States and that American consumers are in effect sending billions of dollars to foreign companies. If domestic companies had this money, they could expand industrial production and increase technological research to ensure economic growth and create jobs at home.

Many economists believe that the trade deficit was caused by the high value of the U.S. dollar in relation to foreign currencies. During the early 1980s, the rising value of the dollar caused the price of U.S. goods in other countries to increase. As a result, many American products became too expensive for foreign consumers, and sales of U.S. goods overseas declined.

Since 1985, the U.S. government has allowed the value of the dollar to fall in an effort to combat the trade deficit. The government believes that the reduced value of the dollar will make American goods less expensive overseas, encouraging foreign consumers to buy more products made in the United States. The increased foreign sales of U.S.

Since World War II, the U.S. economy has become more service oriented. The number of jobs in heavy industries, such as steel and automobile manufacturing, have decreased, while jobs in service industries, such as computer operation and repair, information processing, and accounting, have increased.

The Shift to a Service Economy



Source: Department of Labor

*Estimate

products will also increase jobs in the United States.

Critics of the government's policy to lower the value of the dollar believe that the importance of the trade deficit is overstated and that the policy is dangerous. They argue that a drop in the value of the dollar increases the price of foreign goods in the United States, which could lead to higher inflation. Others say that the falling dollar has not worked. They point out that after five years the United States still has a trade deficit despite the lower value of the dollar.

Outlook

Most analysts agree that Congress and the president must reduce the federal budget deficit if the United States hopes to regain the dominant position it once held in the world economy. But reducing the deficit through budget cuts or increased taxes presents government officials with difficult choices. Budget cuts could weaken important social programs, such as Medicare, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and school lunch programs. Some members of Congress fear that reducing these programs could increase the number of Americans living in poverty. However, tax increases could create problems, too. They could reduce the amount of money saved and invested by individuals and companies. Higher taxes could mean that factories will forego the modernization needed to be compete in the world market or could slow the economic expansion that Americans have enjoyed throughout much of the 1980s. The challenge for American policymakers is to balance the budget without undermining the nation's economic health.

The Debate The Economy

Should the Government Raise Taxes to Reduce the Budget Deficit?

PRO

The federal budget deficit threatens our nation's future and must be reduced. Because most social and defense programs are essential, the only alternative is to raise taxes. Americans may not like it, but they need to pay more taxes for government services.

CON

A tax increase will reduce personal income, business profits, and the amount of money corporations can use for expansion and improvement. The federal government should look for ways to cut spending on social programs and defense. The nation is best served by a healthy economy, and that depends on a low tax rate.

Should the Government Lower the Capital Gains Tax?

PRO

Lowering the capital gains tax will allow the nation's most productive businesses to invest and expand. This expansion will benefit the nation's economy because these businesses will hire more workers, become competitive in the world market, and eventually pay more taxes as their profits increase.

CON

A cut in the capital gains tax will only benefit the nation's richest taxpayers. Middle- and lower-income families do not usually own stocks, bonds, and real estate and will be paying higher taxes than their richer counterparts who do. Cutting the tax rate will also undermine the tax reforms that were designed to distribute the tax burden more evenly so that the rich would be taxed at a higher rate than middle-income Americans.

Should the Government Cut the Trade Deficit by Lowering the Value of the Dollar?

PRO

The trade deficit hurts our economy. Hundreds of thousands of jobs are lost, and billions of dollars are flowing out of the country. A lower dollar value would make American goods cheaper and therefore easier to sell abroad. Increased sales would put Americans back to work.

CON

The danger of the trade deficit is overstated. Foreigners who earn U.S. dollars are reinvesting these dollars in the United States because our economy is basically sound. Foreign investment produces economic growth at home. The danger of a "cheaper" dollar is that it would raise the price of imported goods, causing inflation.

Education

In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education charged that educational mediocrity threatened the country's future. The commission cited low test scores, watered-down curricula, and a high rate of illiteracy as evidence of the decline in American education. Schools across the country responded with reforms.

Many school districts raised their requirements for graduation and lengthened their school day and year. Some districts increased salaries for teachers and made it easier for other professionals to become certified teachers. Some rewarded their best teachers with higher pay and other incentives. Many schools across the country improved dramatically after the reforms. Yet, overall, test results still show that American students score lower in nearly all disciplines than their peers in other industrialized countries.

In an effort to extend reforms, educators are now making changes in the way schools are run. Some local school boards are allowing parents and teachers to help make school policies. In many parts of the country, districts have turned to businesses, universities, and state governments to help them better manage their schools. And some districts now allow parents to choose which public school their children will attend. Although most educators believe that their efforts will continue to improve the nation's schools, others are not so sure. Ultimately, the debate surrounding education in the United States today focuses on the question: How can we make our schools better?

Key Questions

- Should the federal government play a more active role in education?
- Should the government continue to subsidize student loans?
- Should parents choose their children's schools?

Background

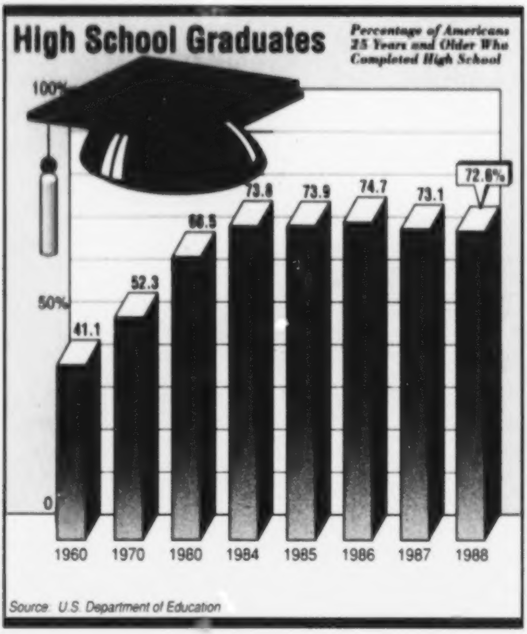
The American School System

Community Approach. Education—especially literacy—has always been valued by Americans. The Puritans saw education as an important means of passing on religious teachings. Later, Americans saw that publicly supported education could wipe out the legacy of the British class system, where literacy separated the rich from the poor. Since its inception, the public school system has Americanized immigrant children: the schools teach them the English language and American values and help ensure an educated electorate.

Funded and operated for the most part at the local level, the American public school system is highly decentralized. Local school districts determine programs of study, selection of books, hiring of teachers, and other factors such as school budgets and classroom size. A school district might encompass an entire county or city, or just a small

American schools have always been highly decentralized. The local community controlled this nineteenth century school and determined what its students would learn. Today, schools are still controlled by local communities, through school boards and administrators. These local representatives set the curriculum, select textbooks, hire teachers, and make budget decisions.

The Bettmann Archive



The number of people completing twelve years of school has increased over the years. Nearly three-fourths of all Americans receive a high school diploma today, compared with only one-fourth in 1940.

segment of a community. A school superintendent administers each school district, while a school board—usually elected—makes budget and policy decisions. Organizing schools locally allows parents to play a role in determining the kind of education they want for their children.

Schools and the New Social Agenda. During the 1950s and 1960s, the United States took on new challenges. The federal government committed itself to landing the first man on the moon, wiping out poverty, and ending racism and racial segregation. An effective place to begin achieving these ends was the public school.

In addition, people felt that every American should have an equal chance to get a good education. Yet the schools could not ensure this because they were not funded equally from state to state and district to district. Schools are still unequally funded because local property taxes, used to finance most schools, vary. Districts with high property values can afford better schools than districts with low property values. Because most local communities were not able to meet the cost of the new social agenda, the federal government increased its share of school financing.

The Department of Education

In 1979, Congress elevated education to cabinet-level status by creating the Department of Education. Previously, education was handled by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, later reorganized as the Department of Health and Human Services.

The Sputnik Challenge. In 1957, when the Soviet Union successfully launched *Sputnik*, the first orbital satellite, many Americans were shocked because Soviet technology had apparently outpaced American technology. In response, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to encourage the study of science, mathematics, engineering, and foreign languages at all levels.

President Johnson's Great Society. In the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson addressed the problem of poverty through his Great Society programs. "Poverty has many roots," he said, "but the taproot is ignorance." President Johnson proposed three new federal education programs: the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Higher Education Act.

Economic Opportunity Act. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 launched President Johnson's Great Society program. This law provided money for adult literacy programs and for Project Head Start, a preschool program for children from poor families.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In 1965, Congress approved the first general aid to education law, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Whether children attended public or private schools, the ESEA was designed to improve their education. Though this law helped all children, it was aimed particularly at economically disadvantaged children. The ESEA also sought to close the gap in school funding between rich and poor states. Today the act provides federal money for schools to offer special programs such as remedial reading for low-income students. The ESEA also assists the states in buying textbooks, library resources, and instructional materials, and in establishing and supporting guidance and testing centers.

Higher Education Act. The Higher Education Act of 1965 authorized federal scholarships for needy college students. The act also provides federally financed loans for students wishing to go to college.

Desegregation. In the landmark 1954 case, *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation is unconstitutional. Subsequent court decisions ordered schools to begin desegregating immediately. During the 1960s, Congress passed laws denying federal aid to school districts that continued segregation. During the 1970s, Congress offered school districts funding to help them desegregate their schools. Many school districts instituted busing

In 1954, the Supreme Court ordered the nation's school districts to begin desegregation programs "with all deliberate speed." Busing students to balance the racial mix of schools was considered the most effective means of desegregation.

SCHOOLS
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National Education Association/Joe Di Dio

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programs under which students were transported to schools outside their neighborhoods to integrate them. But in the 1980s, President Reagan favored voluntary measures, not court orders, to achieve school desegregation. Reagan believed that busing was dividing many communities. During the Reagan administration, the Justice Department challenged the legality of hundreds of busing programs around the country, but only a handful of school districts were released from court-ordered desegregation plans. Other school systems have replaced busing with magnet schools to encourage racial integration. In magnet school programs, parents can choose to send their children to non-neighborhood schools that specialize in the performing arts, science, math, or foreign languages.

Mainstreaming. Prior to the 1960s, many handicapped children attended expensive private schools because public schools were ill-equipped to handle their special needs. During the 1960s and 1970s, public education faced the charge of discrimination toward the handicapped. In the mid-1970s, federal courts ruled that handicapped children have the right to an education in the "least restrictive environment" possible. Handicapped students, the courts said, should be "mainstreamed" whenever possible—that is, they should attend classes with non-handicapped students. Federal funds have helped public schools buy equipment, build special facilities, and train teachers to work with handicapped students.

The Education Reform Movement. In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education released its report, *A Nation at Risk*. The report focused national attention on what the Commission called a "rising tide of mediocrity" in U.S. education. The report cited a high rate of functional illiteracy and declining test scores as evidence of the problem. The Commission blamed

Who Sets School Policy?

In Chicago, Illinois, each public school has a council that helps administrators decide how the school should be run. Each council consists of four parents, two teachers, and two community leaders. The Chelsea, Massachusetts, public schools are under the direction of Boston University. And seven state governments have taken control of school districts where student achievement is low.

National Education Association/Joe Di Dio

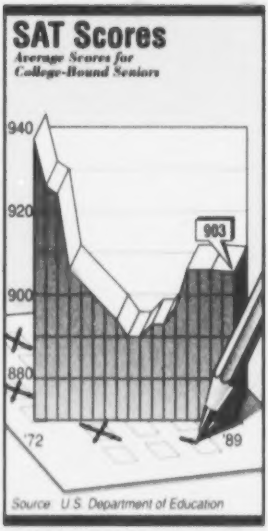
For the past several years, all fifty states have been involved in a movement to improve the quality of education in the nation's public schools. As a result, most high schools across the country now have tougher graduation requirements and higher academic standards.

the growing mediocrity on watered-down curricula, low demands on students, and declines in the quality and training of teachers. *A Nation at Risk*, and other similar reports, generated a nationwide movement to reform education. All fifty states undertook programs of educational reform. Nearly all states raised the minimum requirements for high school graduation, and many states passed comprehensive education bills that tightened academic standards and raised teachers' salaries.

One of the newest reforms allows parents in some areas to choose which public schools their children will attend. President George Bush urged states to consider this reform at an education summit he organized for the nation's governors in 1989. Twenty-five states are now implementing some form of choice. In Minnesota, for example, parents can choose to send their children to almost any public school in the entire state.

Current Issues

Who Should Make Education Policy? Traditionally, the local community controlled schools. School district administrators and school boards largely decided funding and school policy, and parents and teachers had direct contact with them. State governments retained some authority, setting standards for teacher certification and providing school districts with additional funding to supplement local property taxes. However, the publication of *A Nation at Risk* and other studies critical of public schools has prompted state legislators to take a greater interest in what was previously considered a local matter. For example, many states have passed laws requiring longer school days and years, increased minimum requirements for graduation, state approval of textbooks, and competency tests for teachers. State government spending has also been increasing. State governments now provide about 50 percent of school funding.



Source: U.S. Department of Education

The decline in Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores during the 1970s was seen by some policymakers as evidence that the quality of American education was declining. Many parents and educators say that the rise in SAT scores during the 1980s can be attributed to the success of the education reform movement.

Some educators criticize states for overregulating schools. Critics say that too much state regulation frustrates innovative teaching, which usually develops at local levels. School districts are especially angry about policies that allow the state to take control of districts in which student achievement is lagging. State leaders argue that if states are expected to commit the large amounts of money needed by schools, they have the right to say how that money should be used. Also, state control over funding ensures that the poorest school districts can offer quality education.

The Federal Role. President Bush believes that state and local governments should have the primary responsibility for funding and improving America's public schools. He points out that although the federal government spent more for education in the 1960s and 1970s, school problems worsened. He argues that the states are responsible for improving education through reforms such as magnet and year-round schools, higher graduation requirements, stricter academic standards, and higher salaries for teachers. The president believes the federal government should help the states make these changes by providing them with federal funds to begin education reform programs. However, President Bush believes the federal government should not dictate what programs a state or school system should follow. Instead, he wants each state to use federal funds to operate the programs it chooses.

Critics of the president's policy argue that the federal government should take a more active role in designing and instituting education reforms. They claim that federally mandated programs have been effective in testing and upgrading student performance, mainstreaming handicapped students, and supporting preschool programs for inner-city children. In addition, federal aid has helped close the gap in spending between states that can afford ambitious educational programs and less affluent states that cannot afford to increase school spending. Critics point out that illiteracy and equal educational opportunities are examples of problems that require national, not local or state, solutions.

Student Loans. One of the largest areas of federal education funding is providing loans for college education. The federal government began offering student loans to lower- and middle-class students in the 1960s because many people considered the loans a wise investment in the nation's future. Under current programs, a college student can receive a government-guaranteed loan to help pay college tuition fees. The government pays the interest on the loan while the student attends school. After graduation, the student must pay back the loan within ten years. Recently, many people have criticized student loan programs because of their growing costs and the high number of loans that are not being paid back (defaulted loans). Each year, student loan programs cost the government $2.4 billion in subsidized interest payments and $1.8 billion in defaulted loans.

Close Up Foundation

The cost of a college education is going up. Many students today borrow money through the government's student loan program to pay their tuitions. Some of these students are unable to repay their loans, costing the government $1.8 billion in defaults.

The government has looked to new ways to assure repayment of student loans. Some officials recently proposed that a college with a high rate of defaulting students be barred from participating in any student loan programs. Proponents of this plan contend that institutions with high default rates may actually be misleading ill-prepared students by encouraging them to attend college even though the school knows that the students have little hope of getting through school or obtaining a well-paying job upon graduation. Under this plan, barred schools could participate in student loan programs only after they lower their default rates through better screening of applicants, increased career counseling, and improved job placement services.

Critics of this proposal object to punishing an entire institution for the sins of its former students. They say that ultimately the loss of funds will hurt those students who need the loans most, low-income minority students. In addition, opponents claim that loss of student loan funds would force many institutions to close. Especially vulnerable are trade schools, community colleges, and minority institutions where loan default rates tend to be highest.

National Education Association/Joe Di Dio

Part of the recent education reform movement has focused on teachers. In many states, teachers' salaries have been raised to make them more competitive with other occupations. Other reforms include pay bonuses for the best teachers and teacher certification for college graduates who did not major in education.

Choice in Education. One of the newest education reforms is a policy that allows parents to choose the schools their children will attend. People who support this idea claim that schools will improve if they must compete for students. When a student leaves one school to attend another, the new school receives state funds to educate that student while the old school loses money. The theory behind giving parents and students a choice is that good schools will attract more students and receive more state funds. Bad schools, if they do not improve, will eventually have to close as their student populations and state funding decrease.

However, critics of choice programs say that such programs will lead to resegregation, especially in urban school systems. These critics claim that middle- and upper-class parents will remove their children from integrated schools while poorer parents will be unable to provide transportation to get their children to schools outside the local community. They argue that inner-city schools will lose government funding as parents transfer their children to other schools. Critics also argue that the end result will be inner-city schools with less funding for the poor students who need it most while the best-funded and most successful schools will have few poor students. Some parents in rural areas worry that their local schools will close if students transfer to larger city schools that offer more courses.

Choice in Education

According to a Gallup poll, 60 percent of Americans favor letting parents choose which public schools in their community their children can attend.

Outlook

As schools try to become better at educating today's youth, they are turning to new ways of restructuring themselves. Businesses, universities, teachers, parents, and state governments are becoming more involved in deciding how children should be taught. While education has traditionally been a local concern, the federal government has become involved from time to time to ensure that disadvantaged, handicapped, and minority children receive a good education. Some people would like to see the federal government do more to improve America's schools by setting national goals and providing more money. But others object to further federal involvement, saying that local communities, not the federal government, are best equipped to manage public schools. As the education reform movement continues across the country, the issue of who should lead these efforts remains a vital, and unanswered, question.

The Debate Education

Should the Federal Government Play a More Active Role in Education?

PRO

Federal funds for education have helped to achieve some important national goals, such as improving educational opportunities for the poor, opening classroom doors to the disabled, and helping talented children from lower- and middle-class families obtain quality college educations. Only the federal government can set national standards for educational quality and equalize school spending between rich and poor states. In addition, many states could not support worthwhile programs for the handicapped and the learning disabled without federal support.

CON

As federal involvement in education has increased, the quality of education has declined. Money and federal regulation are not the answers to the problem. States and local communities must work harder to train and hire better teachers, to toughen discipline in schools, and to set higher standards for students. American schools have always been controlled locally. Local school management allows parents to participate in their children's education.

Should the Government Continue to Subsidize Student Loans?

PRO

In the past ten years, college tuition has skyrocketed, especially for private schools. Lower- and middle-class families with more than one child in college are particularly hard hit. The government should continue to subsidize student loans because they are a good investment in the nation's future.

CON

Too many people have abused federally financed student loans. Many loans have gone to middle-class students who later defaulted on their loans. It is only fair that the beneficiary of a loan—the student—be asked to pay the cost, and not the government.

Should Parents Choose Their Children's Schools?

PRO

Parents should be able to select schools that will best educate their children. Allowing parents to choose will force schools to improve in order to attract students and the government money that comes with each student. Poorer schools will be forced to either improve or close. Choice programs will improve education by weeding out poorer schools to leave schools with well-paid teachers, good facilities, and abundant supplies.

CON

If parents are able to choose their children's schools, middle- and upper-class families will remove their children from inner-city schools, leaving only students from poor families. The students that are left will be in schools with fewer government dollars. With less funding, these schools will not be able to provide a good education to the students who need it most. Schools in rural areas will also suffer if students are allowed to transfer to city schools.

Civil Rights

The authors of the Constitution would probably be shocked to see the many Americans who have been granted civil rights protections. When the Constitution was written, only white male property owners were protected by the Bill of Rights and given the right to vote. Slavery was legal, and neither slaves nor women could vote.

However, during the next 180 years following the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the Constitution was amended to abolish slavery, extend voting rights to nonlandowners, blacks, and women, and lower the voting age to eighteen. By the 1960s and 1970s, federal lawmakers outlawed discrimination based on race or sex and passed laws to protect the rights of minorities and women. Soon, other groups in American society began to demand—and win—their rights. The elderly are now protected by legislation outlawing age discrimination, and the handicapped are guaranteed access to most public buildings.

Although the United States has made great progress toward protecting civil rights, some Americans say that the nation has not yet gone far enough. They favor stronger laws to guarantee that victims of discrimination are treated fairly by their employers, businesses, and schools.

Other Americans claim that civil rights legislation has gone too far. They contend that some government-granted rights and guarantees have come at someone else's expense and that such legislation discriminates against some people to redress past wrongs against others. Other critics say that some government actions are now violating the rights of citizens by controlling their private lives. They point to abortion restrictions and drug testing as examples of government interference.

Key Questions

- Should affirmative action regulations be eased?
- Should the government support comparable worth?
- Should employers test workers for illegal drug use?
- Should abortion be legal?

Background

Discrimination in America

Race Discrimination. After the Civil War, three constitutional amendments gave former slaves the full rights of citizenship: the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed civil rights; and the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted black males the right to vote. However, racial prejudice could not be legislated away so easily. After postwar Reconstruction, southern leaders implemented "Jim Crow" laws, which segregated public facilities by race. These laws affected restaurants, theaters, schools, and even water fountains. The 1896 Supreme Court decision, *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, upheld Jim Crow laws, saying that segregation was legal as long as "separate but equal" facilities were provided.

In 1948, President Harry Truman proposed several civil rights reforms. He ordered the military to desegregate its units. Truman also proposed bills to protect everyone's right to vote, to prohibit lynching, and to end discrimination on interstate transportation facilities such as trains. However, powerful members of Congress from

WAITING ROOM
BAGGAGE EXPRESS

Library of Congress

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1868, guaranteed former slaves their civil rights. But the United States remained a nation divided by race for nearly 100 years. It wasn't until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that segregation laws were finally repealed.

southern states successfully blocked all attempts at reform.

***Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*.** The 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* essentially started the modern civil rights movement. The Court unanimously ruled that maintaining separate schools for blacks and whites is unconstitutional because separate schools cannot offer equal educational opportunities. The Court ordered schools to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." Subsequent Supreme Court decisions ordered desegregation in northern communities where school district boundary lines were drawn between black and white neighborhoods, thus creating segregated schools. Many judges ordered school districts to redraw the lines and bus children to distant schools, if necessary, to achieve racial integration.

Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first attempt since Reconstruction to institute comprehensive civil rights legislation. This act made it illegal for people to prevent others from voting in federal elections. It also created the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—an independent government advisory panel—and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. However, the act did not include effective enforcement provisions.

Twenty-fourth Amendment. In 1962, Congress passed a constitutional amendment barring the use of a *poll tax* (a tax often used to prevent poor blacks from voting) or any other tax in federal elections. The amendment was ratified in 1964. A 1966 Supreme Court ruling extended the amendment to state and local elections as well.

Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid. This landmark legislation also prohibited job discrimination by employers and unions, established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and strengthened enforcement of voting and desegregation laws.

Voting Rights Act. Passed in 1965, the Voting Rights Act aimed to eliminate local laws and practices that prevented blacks and other minorities from voting. It forbade literacy tests for voters, poll taxes, and intimidation of voters in any state. In communities with a history of discrimination, federal officials ensure that proper voter registration and election procedures are followed. These communities must clear (or "preclear") with federal officials any changes in election laws and prove that such changes will not discriminate against minorities. This *preclearance* requirement covers the drawing of new voting districts after census years. Nine states—Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia—and portions of thirteen other states (including the New York City boroughs of Brooklyn, Manhattan, and the Bronx) must meet the requirements.

Protection From Discrimination in Housing. In 1968, Congress extended civil rights protection to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of some 80 percent of the nation's housing (housing not covered includes property sold without the help of a real estate agent). The legislation also prohibited discriminatory references in real estate advertisements. Victims of housing discrimination can file complaints with the Department of Housing and Urban Development or take their cases to court. Many experts say that this law is difficult to enforce and that people continue to live in areas based on their race and income.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal. . . .'" Civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial in August 1963.

Recent Civil Rights Legislation. In 1982, Congress renewed the Voting Rights Act for another twenty-five years. Reacting to a report by the Civil Rights Commission that harassment and intimidation of minority voters were continuing in many states, Congress kept the preclearance provisions. However, states and communities that maintain a clean voting rights record for ten years can become exempt from preclearance. Congress also added a provision requiring certain areas to provide bilingual election materials.

In 1988, Congress passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act. This law prevents institutions that receive government money from discriminating on the basis of sex, race, age, or disability. Earlier legislation had prohibited schools, governments, private organizations, and corporations from discriminating only in programs that received federal funds. The 1988 act extends civil rights protections to all programs run by such institutions, even if only one project receives government aid.

Discrimination on the Basis of Sex. In the 1960s and early 1970s, women began mobilizing support against sex discrimination. Inspired by the civil rights movement, women pressed for greater access to jobs, more political influence, and an end to the condescending manner in which women were often treated. The women's movement continues today, but its roots stretch back more than 140 years.

Suffrage Movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led the movement to get the vote for women. In the mid-1800s, they and other early suffragists were involved in the movement to abolish slavery and helped win the fight for the Fifteenth Amendment, which ensured the right to vote of all men regardless of race. The suffragists tried to include women in the amendment, but their efforts were blocked by members of Congress who feared that a provision giving women the vote would cause the entire amendment to fail.

Despite this setback, the suffrage movement continued, and by 1912 women had won the right to vote in nine western states. In 1916, the National Women's Party organized support for a national suffrage amendment, and finally on August 16, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, giving women the right to vote in all state and national elections.

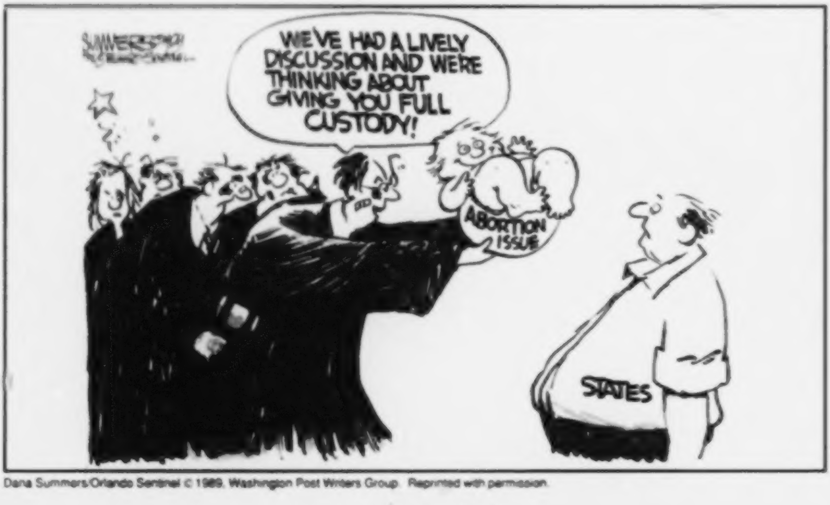
Laws Against Sex Discrimination. The 1960s and 1970s were years of great progress for women's rights. In 1963, Congress adopted the Equal Pay Act, which guaranteed equal pay for equal work. The 1964 Civil Rights Act also prohibited job discrimination based on sex. In the early 1970s, the Supreme Court applied the Fifth Amendment's due process clause and the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause to strike down laws that discriminated against women. In 1972, Congress barred gender-based discrimination in all education programs receiving federal support. And in 1978, Congress amended the

Civil Rights Act to prohibit job discrimination against pregnant women.

Although women in the 1960s and 1970s made progress in achieving equal rights, many felt that sex discrimination still existed. Some women's groups believed that only a constitutional amendment could correct inequalities that still remained.

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). In 1971, Congress passed an amendment to the Constitution that supporters believed would guarantee equal rights for women. The proposed amendment stated: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." When the 1982 deadline for ratification passed, the controversial amendment was not added to the Constitution because it lacked the approval of a few more states. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was reintroduced in Congress in 1985, but the action was considered largely symbolic because opposition to the amendment remains strong.

***Roe* v. *Wade*.** Abortion is one of the nation's most controversial civil rights issues. In its 1973 land-


WE'VE HAD A LIVELY DISCUSSION AND WE'RE THINKING ABOUT GIVING YOU FULL CUSTODY!
ABORTION ISSUE
STATES

Dana Summers/Orlando Sentinel © 1989, Washington Post Writers Group. Reprinted with permission.

mark decision in *Roe* v. *Wade*, the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion. The ruling struck down state laws forbidding abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. The Court's decision gave rise to an anti-abortion movement that called for the states to restrict abortion and the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe* v. *Wade*. Today, twenty-six states have responded to anti-abortion pressure and now restrict abortion by requiring minors to notify or get permission from their parents before having an abortion. Other states have passed laws limiting state funding for abortions. In 1989, the Supreme Court gave states greater power to restrict abortions, causing both proponents and critics of legalized abortion to focus their campaigns on state legislation.

Age Discrimination. Traditionally, retirement at age sixty-five has been expected; some consider it a right. Employers have justified giving job preference to younger workers as wanting to bring "new blood" into the company. But civil rights advocates say that being denied work or being forced out of a job because of one's age is no different than being denied employment because of race or sex.

The Age Discrimination Act of 1967 barred discrimination against people between the ages of forty and sixty-five. In 1978, Congress amended

McDonald's

The Age Discrimination Act—signed into law in 1986—forbids most employers from establishing a mandatory retirement age. Many older Americans have reentered the workforce, finding new careers.

the law to protect people up to age seventy. Despite these laws, people in certain occupations—such as airline pilots, school bus drivers, and police officers—could still be forced to retire early. Activists for the rights of the elderly fought to limit the list of occupations requiring early retirement and to bar mandatory retirement in most other fields. In 1986, President Ronald Reagan signed into law an amendment to the Age Discrimination Act that forbids most employers from establishing a mandatory retirement age.

Discrimination Against the Handicapped. For years, society viewed disabled persons as helpless individuals—objects of fear, pity, and charity—with little to offer. As a result, handicapped people have had to fight both social and physical barriers to achieve relative equality. For example, bright young people who were deaf, blind, or unable to walk were segregated in special schools and denied college educations. Most schools were not equipped to teach the disabled. Without adequate education, disabled people often had to settle for low-paying jobs that require little skill. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 outlawed some barriers to equal education and job opportunities for the handicapped. The law prohibited employers who receive federal aid or who work on government contracts from refusing to hire handicapped persons. The act also required that public schools guarantee education to handicapped children and that colleges make buildings accessible to the blind and those unable to walk.

Close Up Foundation

In the last twenty years, rights denied to physically and emotionally handicapped persons have become a major issue. Interest groups have lobbied local, state, and federal governments for equal access to education, jobs, public buildings, and mass transportation for handicapped individuals.

Current Issues

Affirmative Action. In the late 1960s, the concept of affirmative action grew out of court attempts to make up for years of racial and sexual discrimination. The courts ordered employers who receive federal money to give preference to women and minorities in hiring and promoting. The goal of affirmative action was to match the sexual and racial composition of the work place with that of the society as a whole.

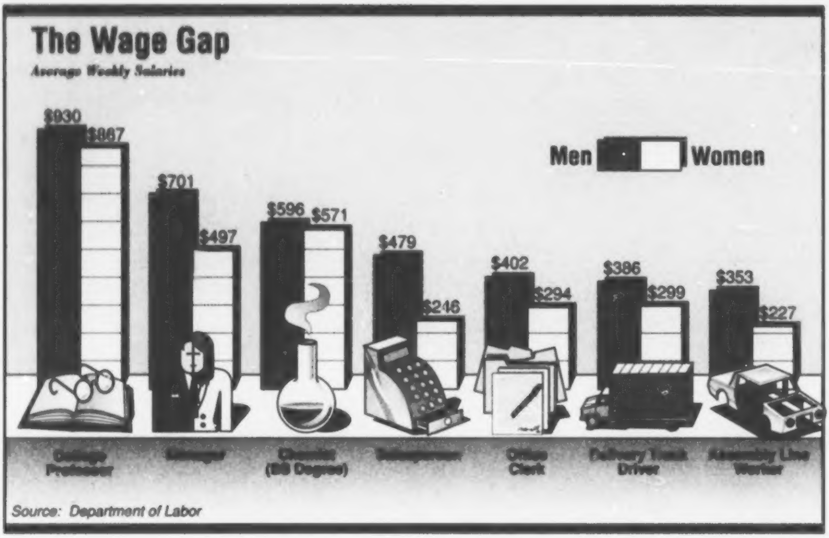
Supporters of affirmative action believe that these laws have been an effective tool for correcting bias in job hiring. The Department of Labor has found that minority employment increases at a higher rate in companies that are required to meet affirmative action rules than in companies not covered by the requirements.

Critics of affirmative action argue that it forces employers to consider sex and race above other qualifications when hiring. The result, they say, is "reverse discrimination" against white males. Critics contend that quotas are not fair and that hiring goals should merely be targets but should not be mandatory.

Comparable Worth. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 guarantees "equal pay for equal work," regardless of sex or race. But many women believe that they are still discriminated against in the job market. They claim that jobs filled mainly by women pay less than comparable jobs held by men. They point out that the average salary for a woman is 70 percent of the average salary for a man.

Many civil rights advocates believe that salaries for jobs held mainly by women should be raised to the level of men's salaries for jobs that require comparable effort, skill, experience, education, and responsibility—that is, equal pay for work of comparable value. Advocates of comparable worth say that although their work is different, secretaries and truck drivers should earn the same because both jobs require a comparable amount of skill, experience, and training.

Supporters of comparable worth contend that it would remove sex bias in wages. They say that



Source: Department of Labor

According to recent studies, women in the workplace are paid about 70 cents for every $1 paid to men. Some state legislatures have passed laws designed to narrow the wage gap between the sexes.

comparable worth standards could first be applied to local, state, and federal government employees through a job rating system and then encouraged in the private sector. The system would assign points for each job based on the type of skills and experience required. Advocates believe that such a system would help overcome differences in wages caused by tradition, male-dominated unions, and employer preferences in selecting men for high-paying jobs.

Critics of comparable worth argue that wage differences are not due to discrimination but are merely the result of free-market forces such as competition and the laws of supply and demand. They believe that women generally earn less than men because they do not have the same amount of education or experience. Critics point out that women are gradually moving into higher-paying jobs and that the wage gap is narrowing. They add that determination of comparable worth is subjective, impossible to enforce, and costly to implement.

Despite the opposition, twenty-two states now require public agencies to pay the same salaries to employees in jobs traditionally held by women that require comparable skills as jobs usually held by men.

Abortion. The 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe* v. *Wade* legalizing abortion did not stop the abortion debate in the United States. In 1989, the debate intensified because of the Supreme Court's decision in *Webster* v. *Reproductive Health Services, Inc.* allowing states greater freedom to restrict abortions.

Opponents of abortion argue that the legal reasoning behind the Supreme Court's ruling in *Roe* v. *Wade* is flawed. They believe that human life begins before birth and that abortion is, therefore, a form of murder. They claim that the Supreme Court gave women the legal right to

SHAME
KEEP ABORTION LEGAL
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In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled that a woman's right to an abortion was guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Since then, abortion has become an emotionally charged issue with battle lines drawn between those who want the decision overturned and those who believe the Court's decision was correct and should not be changed.

Close Up Foundation

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commit murder and believe that *Roe* v. *Wade* must be overturned. Opponents of abortion also claim that abortion has led to sexual promiscuity in American society—especially among teenagers, some of whom view it as an acceptable means of birth control.

Proponents of legalized abortion say that in a free society the government should not limit a woman's right to decide to terminate a pregnancy. They argue that such a decision is private and the government has no business interfering. Abortion rights activists point out that medical experts do not agree on when life begins and thus abortion cannot be considered murder. They also claim that legalized abortion protects a woman's health by allowing her to have a safe abortion performed by a qualified physician.

Abortions in the United States

More than 1.5 million abortions are performed in the United States each year. About one-fifth of American women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five have had an abortion.

Privacy in the Workplace. As part of the "war on drugs," the government recently required all federal employees to submit to random drug testing. Dozens of unions and workers' groups have filed lawsuits against the drug testing programs, and some have won their cases in court. Nevertheless, federal officials hope that private businesses will follow the government's lead and adopt similar measures. A recent government study found that three percent of U.S. corporations have drug testing programs. These corporations include IBM, General Electric, and United Airlines. The study found that one percent of all U.S. workers were tested by their employers, and four percent of all job applicants were tested as part of the hiring process.

Proponents of drug testing claim that drug abuse decreases worker productivity and increases absenteeism, costing companies millions of dollars every year. In addition, supporters point out that society cannot tolerate drug abuse in certain occupational areas such as public transportation or nuclear power. Advocates of drug testing believe that the danger to society is too great to continue giving individuals the freedom to abuse drugs.

However, drug testing raises serious questions about the right of employers to control the private behavior of workers. Many civil liberties groups view random drug testing as a violation of the Fourth Amendment, which prohibits unreasonable search and seizure. They say that a worker has an inalienable right to privacy and should be free from unwarranted harassment. In addition, drug testing opponents claim that such tests are often inaccurate. They point out that some foods and medicines may distort the results, thereby jeopardizing the careers of innocent workers.

Monitoring Employee Behavior

Drug testing is just one way that employers are monitoring their employees' behavior. Computers and electronics make monitoring easier and less costly. Key cards, which workers use to check in and out of various work stations, tell an employer how much time a worker spends in the parking lot, on a coffee break, and even in the restroom.

Outlook

Despite progress in guaranteeing civil rights, some Americans believe that discrimination is still a problem. They claim that Congress has not done enough to eliminate discrimination against minorities, women, the elderly, and the handicapped. However, others contend that government actions to eliminate past discrimination actually promote reverse discrimination against some other groups. Civil rights advocates also argue that the government violates the right to privacy by permitting drug testing of employees and allowing restrictions on abortions. Some of these people express concern that some U.S. laws designed to guarantee Americans their rights in fact deny them their rights.

The Debate Civil Rights

Should Affirmative Action Regulations Be Eased?

PRO

Affirmative action is just another term for quotas. Years ago, quotas were used to prevent qualified minorities from getting jobs. Using quotas now to help minorities and women is no less discriminatory. Employers should be able to hire the best employee for the job, regardless of race or sex.

CON

Affirmative action programs compensate for past and present job discrimination. They ensure that qualified workers do not lose out solely because of their sex or race. Killing affirmative action programs would give employers an excuse to return to the discriminatory hiring practices of the past.

Should the Government Support Comparable Worth?

PRO

Despite the Equal Pay Act of 1963, women's salaries average only 70 percent of men's salaries. Salaries should be based on the skills, responsibilities, and experience necessary to do the job—not on whether the job traditionally has been filled by a man or a woman. Comparable worth legislation would correct this wage imbalance by raising salaries in occupations dominated by women to match those in occupations filled mainly by men.

CON

Discrimination itself did not cause the salary differences between men and women. Until recently, women have not had the education or experience to qualify for high-paying jobs. As more women stay in school and gain valuable work experience, they will move into higher-paying jobs and the wage gap will shrink. Government intervention in the marketplace is not a wise step.

Should Employers Test Workers for Illegal Drug Use?

PRO

Every year millions of dollars are lost because of drug use. Drugs decrease worker productivity and increase absenteeism. Drug abuse among some workers—such as airline pilots or truck drivers—could cost the lives of innocent people. Employers have a right to expect their employees to be alert. Employers should be able to guarantee the ability of their workers to perform effectively.

CON

Drug testing is an intrusion into a person's private life. The Fourth Amendment protects a person's right to privacy. Random drug testing violates this right. Moreover, it has been proven that drug tests can be unreliable. Some foods and medicines may show up as illegal drugs in the tests. Innocent people could lose their jobs—and suffer the rest of their lives—because of such a mistake.

The Debate, Civil Rights

Continued

Should Abortion Be Legal?

PRO

No one has proven that life begins at the beginning of pregnancy. Thus, abortion is not murder. In a free society, a woman has the right to choose whether or not to terminate a pregnancy without interference from the government. Also, legalized abortions protect the health of women by allowing competent doctors to perform them using safe medical procedures in sanitary conditions.

CON

Human life begins before birth. Ending a pregnancy by abortion is the same as committing murder. Too many people view abortion as an acceptable means of birth control. This attitude has led to increased sexual promiscuity. It is up to the federal government to make abortion illegal and to enforce a deeper respect for human life in the United States.

Social Programs

For more than 150 years, America's poor and elderly relied on family, friends, and charitable organizations to care for them. But when unemployment and poverty affected millions of Americans in the Great Depression of the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced new, radical programs to help the unemployed, the poor, and the elderly. His New Deal legislation creating unemployment insurance, social security, and job programs changed the role of government forever.

During the next fifty years, social programs mushroomed. Today the federal government helps the poor by supplementing their incomes, paying their medical bills, subsidizing their rent, paying their fuel bills, issuing coupons for free food, and helping them find jobs. The social security program continues to provide funds to Americans who are retired, disabled, or unemployed and to their families and survivors.

Some taxpayers and lawmakers question whether the federal government, faced with a large budget deficit, should continue to support social programs at their current levels. In recent years, Congress has reduced funding and tightened requirements for social programs in an effort to help balance the budget. Yet millions of Americans still depend on some sort of government aid to help them pay their bills. Cutting programs more could mean more widespread poverty or homelessness. Today, lawmakers are faced with the difficult task of deciding whom the government can afford to help.

Key Questions

- Does the government provide enough aid for the needy?
- Should Social Security benefits be frozen?
- Should the government provide child care?

Background

Helping Those in Need

Roosevelt's New Deal. When elected in 1932, President Franklin Roosevelt introduced his New Deal program to overcome the effects of the Great Depression and to protect against future economic failures. Roosevelt believed that the government had a special obligation to help unemployed, poor, and elderly Americans. The New Deal stressed jobs and social insurance rather than straight relief. Programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and social security initiated America's social welfare system. The WPA commissioned people to build bridges and roads, write books and plays, paint murals and buildings, and pursue other useful activities. This program reflected President Roosevelt's belief that payment should depend on work. The Social Security Act provided insurance for the unemployed and the retired and public assistance for the elderly, the blind, and children in homes without wage earners. (Disabled people were granted social security benefits in 1956.)

The White House

After a landslide victory in 1964, President Lyndon Johnson told the nation, "We are in the midst of the greatest upward surge of economic well-being in the history of any nation. But we are only at the beginning of the road to the Great Society." Responding to Johnson's Great Society speech, Congress passed legislation creating many social programs, including Medicare, food stamps, and public housing.

Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. During the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson sought and successfully implemented significant social legislation—the enactment of a major civil rights law, the introduction of Medicare and Medicaid, and the creation of programs designed to eliminate poverty—which became known as the Great Society programs. Johnson declared that no society could be great with poverty in its midst. He waged a full-scale assault against poverty by designing programs to move poor people up the economic ladder through vocational education and job training. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created rehabilitation services, preschool education programs, training and jobs programs for the young, and retraining programs for the unemployed.

President Johnson also increased federal social spending to provide the elderly with health care and the poor with food, clothing, and housing. Known as entitlement programs, Johnson's measures were open-ended, meaning that every year they usually received whatever funding increases were necessary.

Most social programs, including social security, are entitlement programs. Because everyone who qualifies for such a program is entitled to receive benefits, entitlement programs theoretically have no budgetary ceiling and are therefore difficult to plan or cut. The only way to cut entitlement programs is to restrict eligibility or to reduce the amount of benefits each person receives. For example, many programs guarantee an annual cost-of-living adjustment (COLA), which provides recipients with yearly increases based on the rate of inflation. One way for the government to save money is to keep COLAs below the rate of inflation. The disadvantage of reducing COLAs is that Americans who are dependent on the programs cannot keep up with inflation.

Veterans Benefits

The federal government provides many social programs for U.S. veterans and their families through the newly created Department of Veterans Affairs. These programs include compensation payments for disabilities or death related to military service, pensions based on financial need for totally disabled veterans, funds for education and job training, rehabilitation aid, home loan guarantees, burial assistance, and medical care. One-third of the U.S. population is eligible for some form of veterans' benefits.

Reagan and Social Spending. The open-ended growth of entitlement programs during the 1960s and 1970s led President Ronald Reagan to say that domestic spending was running out of control. To correct the problem and to promote economic growth, Reagan asked Congress to reduce taxes and to cut federal social spending, especially for Medicare, Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, and school lunch programs. Despite the budget cuts, most experts believe that the core of the New Deal and Great Society programs—social security, Medicare, and Medicaid—remains intact.

Entitlement Programs Today

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Created in 1935, AFDC is the program most often associated with the term "welfare," but it is only one of several welfare programs. AFDC payments go to low-income families with children under eighteen in which one or both parents are dead, incapacitated, absent, or unemployed. In practice, most payments go to single mothers. The federal government shares the costs of administering the AFDC program with the states.

Long criticized as an inefficient and ineffective program, AFDC has recently undergone changes. Reforms of the program include the following:

- States must enroll 20 percent of all welfare mothers whose youngest children are more than three years old in education, training, work-experience, or job search programs.
- Workers who find jobs and stop receiving AFDC benefits are now eligible for subsidized day care and Medicaid for one year.
- Absentee fathers who work and whose children receive welfare must make child-support payments.
- Families with both parents living at home are now eligible for AFDC payments.
- One parent in two-parent welfare families must perform sixteen hours per week of free community service.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
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SPECIMEN
10

Food Stamps

Under the government's food stamp program, millions of Americans are able to pay for food with government coupons instead of money. The Department of Agriculture spends nearly half of its budget on food stamps and other food programs.

Food Stamps. The federal food stamp program was instituted in 1964 under the direction of the Department of Agriculture to ensure that poor people would have enough to eat. Instead of providing money, the food stamp program supplies coupons, or vouchers, redeemable for food only. The government spends $15 billion a year on the food stamp program to feed 20 million Americans.

Medicaid and Medicare. Medicaid, established in 1965 as part of the Great Society, provides the poor with free or subsidized medical care. Medicaid payments, which are funded jointly by the federal government and the state governments, total more than $50 billion and reach 23 million Americans.

Medicare, also instituted in 1965, pays health care benefits to approximately 33 million elderly Americans. The 1990 budget allocates $95 billion for Medicare payments.

Supplementary Security Income. The Supplementary Security Income program, created in 1974, provides cash benefits for the blind, the disabled, the elderly, and others with special needs and low incomes. About 4.5 million people benefit from this program.

Low-Income Energy Assistance. The Low-Income Energy Assistance program, instituted in 1980, provides funds to help poor people pay their fuel bills for heating (in northern states) and air conditioning (in the Sun Belt). It was one of the programs most severely affected by the budget cuts of the 1980s.

Public Housing. Established in 1965, the Department of Housing and Urban Development builds low-cost public housing, provides assistance to private companies that build low-cost housing, and subsidizes rent for people who need help paying their rent.

Social Security. Formally named Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, social security is by far the largest social program. Created in 1935 by the Social Security Act, social security is a self-perpetuating trust fund with its own income. Every working person in America—except railway and government employees, who have their own plans,

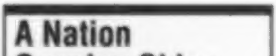
Helping the Homeless

Most programs for the homeless are operated by private organizations and state and local governments. However, the homeless benefit from $985 million of federal government spending, mostly for the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1988. This law provides money for emergency shelters, housing, and social services for the homeless.

and special types of workers who are not employed regularly—pays social security taxes. Social security is financed by equal employer and employee contributions. The system pays almost $250 billion in old-age and survivor benefits to 38.9 million retired workers and their dependents, or to survivors of employees who have died. The amount recipients receive is based on their average monthly earnings over a number of years.

In 1983, social security faced bankruptcy because of automatic COLAs. During the 1970s, inflation rose dramatically, and COLAs outstripped the total amount brought in by the taxes that financed social security. Faced with a shortage of funds, Congress passed a plan to refinance the system. Without the changes, the social security system would have run out of money by the middle of 1983.

To prevent bankruptcy, Congress voted to: (1) increase the payroll taxes paid by employers, employees, and self-employed individuals; (2) require new federal workers to pay social security taxes; and (3) tax the social security benefits of high-income retirees. Savings will be achieved by reducing benefits and by gradually increasing the age at which one becomes eligible for benefits, from 65 to 67 years, by the year 2027.



As the nation grows older, the number of people receiving social security benefits will increase. By the year 2020, it is estimated that 17.3 percent of all Americans will be sixty-five or older.

Current Issues

Can the Government Afford Social Programs? Since the 1930s, the federal government has funded programs that provide for the health, education, and financial security of many needy Americans. But in the early 1980s, some members of Congress advocated shifting the responsibility of caring for the nation's needy to state and local governments. To this end, federal social programs were trimmed. The most notable cuts occurred in programs for the poor, including low-income energy assistance and subsidized housing, although most social programs avoided major cuts. However, many policymakers still question the ability of the government to continue to provide assistance to every needy citizen and every social program. With a huge budget deficit and the reluctance of most lawmakers to raise taxes, some experts wonder how the federal government can continue paying for social programs.

Nevertheless, within the constraints of the budget, both the president and Congress must deal with the problems of poverty in the United States. The Census Bureau estimates that 31.9 million

Department of Housing and Urban Development

In many inner-city neighborhoods, the poverty rate is higher than the national average of 13 percent. Many inner-city residents rely on government aid programs to help them pay for food, health care, and housing. Some policymakers question the wisdom of the government's anti-poverty programs. They think the programs may actually institutionalize poverty by making people dependent on the government.

Americans—13.1 percent of the population—live in poverty. (The Census Bureau sets the poverty level at $12,092 for a family of four.) Approximately 10 percent of all whites live in poverty, and the numbers are higher for blacks and Hispanics. More than 31 percent of all blacks in the United States are impoverished, and almost 27 percent of all Hispanics live below the poverty line. Children make up 40 percent of all those in poverty. As the 1980s came to a close, nearly 20 percent of all children under the age of eighteen lived below the poverty line.

Some policymakers insist that the federal government has an obligation to help the poor. They claim that as one of the richest countries in the world, the United States can afford to pay for social programs. Advocates for the poor argue that social programs are worth their cost. Medicare and social security have improved the lives of the elderly. In some states, the new job, education, and training programs for AFDC recipients have put people to work and taken them off the welfare rolls, but many of these families still need government help to subsidize medical and child care.

Opponents argue that social programs need to be cut. They say that the large federal budget deficit means the government cannot afford to spend billions of dollars in social programs. Some claim that food, health care, and housing programs may institutionalize poverty by making people dependent on the government. They argue that social programs have been ineffective in wiping out poverty from the inner cities and that the government should focus on providing aid for those who truly need and benefit from government support—the disabled, the elderly, and the ill.

Minimum Wage

One way the government tries to fight poverty is by guaranteeing workers a minimum wage. For most of the 1980s, the minimum wage was $3.35 per hour. In 1989, Congress decided to raise the minimum wage to $4.25 by 1991. The government estimated that 4 million Americans were affected by the increase. About two-thirds of the minimum-wage earners are women, and one-fourth are heads of households.

Social Security. Social security is a popular program that has traditionally been spared reductions in spending because of its success in helping both the elderly and the disabled meet their financial needs. Both Republicans and Democrats strongly support the system, and those receiving social security benefits have a great deal of political influence.

But social security is no longer immune to cuts. The federal budget deficit is so large that no program is safe from budget cuts. One widely discussed plan is to freeze, or delay, COLAs. But some members of Congress are unwilling to consider freezing social security benefits because COLAs are necessary to guard recipients against inflation. They say that a freeze would push half a million older Americans below the poverty line and would strain the budgets of the 65 percent of the elderly who rely on social security as their main source of income. They also point out that benefits were cut in 1983 and that any new reductions would break the 1983 refinancing agreement.

Others in Congress are beginning to take the opposite view. They say that in order to balance the budget, everyone—including social security recipients—will have to make sacrifices. These senators and representatives point out that government employees and military retirees have had their cost-of-living increases frozen recently. They claim it is unfair to freeze benefits for some groups but not for others.

Many young people are also dissatisfied with the present social security system. They say that too much money is being paid out now, and they resent the high social security taxes they must pay. Younger workers fear that the fund may be used up by the time they retire, so they will never see the money they paid into social security. The elderly respond by saying that they are entitled to their benefits. They paid into the system throughout their working careers and are now receiving their just rewards.

SOCIAL SECURITY
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MARY LOGAN
Mary Logan

Social Security Card

The first social security cards, issued in 1935, were used solely to identify a person's private account number with the Social Security Administration. Since then, social security numbers have become part of a national identification system. Today, social security numbers are used for driver's licenses, student identification cards, hospital records, marriage certificates, and loan applications.

Child Care. In the 1980s, some members of Congress proposed a new federal program to subsidize child care for working parents. Such a program would provide vouchers for parents to purchase child care services from licensed day-care providers.

Proponents of subsidized child care say that single mothers and low-income working parents cannot afford to pay for child care. They say that subsidized child care would help mothers who want to work but have no one to care for their children during the day. Subsidized child care would allow such parents both to pay for child care and to support their families, thereby eliminating the need for government assistance programs. In addition, parents would know that the licensed care centers met safety requirements, employed qualified staff, and promoted early learning.

Critics of subsidized child care argue that fewer than 25 percent of all preschool-age children

The federal government gives $4.8 billion in money and food to provide free and subsidized meals to children in schools and child care centers. Other government programs that benefit children from low-income families are Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Head Start programs for preschool education.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

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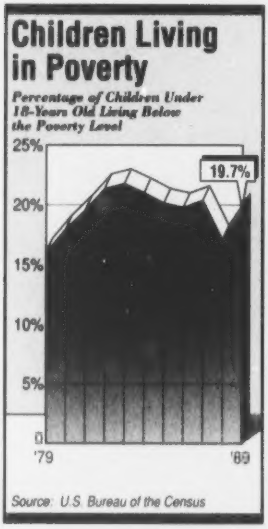
with working mothers are cared for by nursery schools or child care centers. They point out that many children, especially those from low-income families, would not benefit from a federal program because they receive care either from family and friends or from private and church-based programs. Some policymakers say subsidized child care is an expensive program that the government cannot afford right now. Others, including President Bush, favor giving low-income families a $1,000 tax credit for each child under four. This money could then be used to pay for child care.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

The Census Bureau reports that 19.7 percent of all American children under the age of eighteen live in poverty. Research shows that an estimated 7 million children have no health insurance, and 100,000 children are homeless.

Outlook

Today's debate about social programs is over how the government will pay for them in the future. Medicare and Medicaid payments are increasing as health care costs continue to climb. The government is forced to pay more in social security benefits because of the ever-increasing number of retirees, who are entitled to larger payments than ever before. New proposals, such as child care, could increase federal spending for social programs if they are approved by Congress. These programs will face tough fiscal scrutiny as the government tries to reduce the budget deficit. The challenge will be to cap spending for social programs while still meeting the needs of America's poor.

The Debate Social Programs

Does the Government Provide Enough Aid for the Needy?

PRO

The government provides aid for those who truly need it—the disabled, the elderly, and the ill. Recent welfare reforms are placing poor people in education and work programs that allow them to get jobs, rise above the poverty level, and provide for their families without government assistance.

CON

Congress has reduced benefits and tightened eligibility requirements for many social programs, making it more difficult for the needy to get government help. Thirteen percent of the U.S. population lives in poverty. The United States is the richest country in the world; the government can afford to help the needy and has a moral obligation to do so.

Should Social Security Benefits Be Frozen?

PRO

Every federal program, including social security, must be streamlined to help reduce the budget deficit. A social security freeze would not cut benefits; it would merely delay cost-of-living increases. Experts predict that a two-year freeze could help reduce the budget deficit by saving billions in benefit payments and could lead to a healthy economy that would serve the elderly and disabled better than increased social security payments.

CON

A "freeze" is another name for a cut in social security benefits. Denying COLA increases to the elderly and disabled leaves them with less money than they had the year before. Half a million people will be pushed below the poverty line, and many more will face severe financial strain. Social security is not funded through general tax revenues. Budget cutters should look at other programs, particularly defense, if they want to slash spending.

Should the Government Provide Child Care?

PRO

Some parents—especially single mothers—do not have jobs because they have no one to watch their children. Subsidized child care would allow such parents to work and would give welfare recipients the opportunity to leave government assistance programs. Government-licensed child care centers would provide a safe environment, qualified staff, and valuable early learning experiences for children.

CON

Most parents choose not to send their children to child care facilities. Instead, they use church-based programs or leave their children in the care of family, friends, or neighbors. Subsidized child care would not benefit these parents and would be another expensive government program that the country cannot afford. It is time to reduce government spending for social programs.

Health Care

Americans spend more on health care than do people in nearly every other nation. Each year, medical bills in the United States total more than $550 billion. Who pays these huge bills?

Presently, federal, state, and local governments pay more than 40 percent of all health care costs. Most of this money comes from the federal government, which provides health care for 33 million elderly Americans through its Medicare program and for 22 million poor Americans through Medicaid.

Private insurance companies pay 30 percent of health care costs. Private insurers offer policies to those people who choose to buy their own health insurance. Most health insurance policies, however, are purchased by employers as a benefit for their workers.

The remainder of the health care bill is the responsibility of the 37 million Americans who have no health insurance at all. Nearly two-thirds of the uninsured are forced to pay for health care out of their own pockets because they are self-employed or unemployed or because their employers do not offer health insurance.

Most experts predict that health care costs will continue to increase. They say that as the population ages, Americans will need more medical treatment. Some analysts believe that by the year 2000, the annual health care bill in the United States will soar to more than $1.5 trillion.

Most members of Congress agree that all Americans are entitled to adequate health care. The debate is over how this care should be provided. Who is going to pay the medical bills that are expected to triple in the next decade?

Key Questions

- Should the United States adopt national health insurance?
- Would more competition lower health care costs?
- Should the government allow AIDS patients to use experimental drugs?

Background

The Push for National Health Insurance. Millions of Americans, particularly the poor, the disabled, the unemployed, and the elderly, do not receive adequate health care. Many cannot afford private medical insurance and do not qualify for government health care programs such as Medicare and Medicaid. Even some who have insurance discover that they cannot afford the *deductible* (the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins), so they do not seek medical treatment. And without treatment, their health often deteriorates. Many people believe that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care, while others believe that health care is a private responsibility. The debate over government-financed health care has been going on for more than seventy years.

U.S. Army, Courtesy Harry S. Truman Library

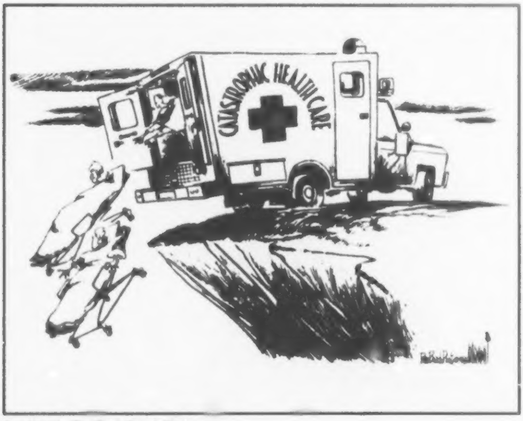
In the early 1950s, President Harry Truman led the effort to establish national health insurance for all Americans. Truman believed that good medical care was a right of all citizens.

During the first half of the century, many Americans had difficulty finding adequate, affordable health care. In 1912, former President Theodore Roosevelt recommended that national health insurance be provided for all Americans. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt considered making national health insurance a part of social security—his new program to provide monetary assistance to the elderly. Roosevelt later dropped this idea because he was afraid that a health insurance plan might hurt the chances for congressional approval of a social security act. National health insurance did not become an issue again until after World War II. President Harry Truman believed that "financial means should not determine the quality and quantity of medical services a citizen receives." He advocated passage of a comprehensive federal insurance program, but Congress blocked his effort.

After Truman's plan for comprehensive health insurance had failed, he decided to pursue national insurance in stages. In 1952, he introduced a plan that would have provided health care just for the elderly. But when Dwight Eisenhower became president in 1953, the proposal was dropped. In 1958, interest in health insurance for the elderly was renewed, and an intense seven-year debate over national health care began.

Health Care and the Great Society. During the mid-1960s, President Lyndon Johnson introduced civil rights and social programs designed to eliminate poverty and to help bring economic equality to all Americans. The capstone of Johnson's Great Society was the introduction of government-financed health care—*Medicare* and *Medicaid*—in 1965. These programs served the most vulnerable segments of society—the elderly, the disabled, and the poor.

Medicare. Today, roughly 33 million people use Medicare. The Medicare program consists of two parts. The first part helps pay for hospital nursing care. Each working person in America pays a



Don Wright, *The Palm Beach Post*

special payroll tax to fund hospital insurance. All elderly recipients of social security, retired railroad workers, and disabled persons are entitled to Medicare coverage, although they must pay an annual fee to the government to use Medicare to cover hospital expenses. They may also have to make additional payments to their doctors or hospitals to help meet costs. The second part of Medicare—supplemental medical insurance—covers 80 percent of doctor fees, laboratory tests, and other medical expenses. Supplemental medical insurance is optional, and beneficiaries must pay a monthly premium to be eligible. Medicare does not pay for eyeglasses, dental work, or long-term nursing care.

Paying the Doctor's Bill: Today and Tomorrow

Experts predict that by the year 2000, the cost per person for adequate health care will rise dramatically. A person's annual health care bill, which costs $2,500 today, may climb to $5,500 by the year 2000.

In 1988, Congress passed the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act, which expanded Medicare coverage to include prescription drugs and hospital and doctor's bills for illnesses requiring more than sixty days of hospitalization. However, Congress repealed the law one year later because elderly recipients protested the extra charges—as much as $800 per year—they were required to pay to finance the new coverage.

The Medicare Dilemma. Medicare is faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, it spends too much. Medicare spending increases about 10 percent per year. Some lawmakers believe that the government cannot afford to continue increasing Medicare spending at a time when spending for other programs is being cut to reduce the federal budget deficit.

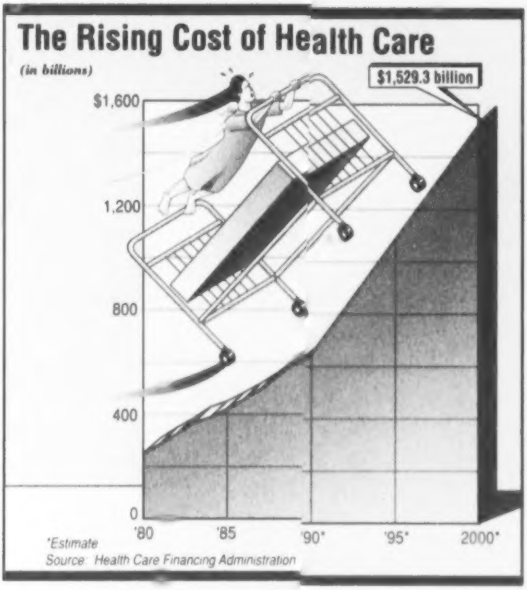
Yet, on the other hand, Medicare does not spend enough to help elderly patients meet their health care costs. In recent years, the government has reduced Medicare benefits to patients. Recipients pay more than $500 to meet the deductible for hospital insurance. The government has also limited the amount of money it will pay to doctors and hospitals for certain treatments and tests.

Only 50 percent of America's doctors accept Medicare's fee schedule, causing the patients themselves to pay the extra amount the government will not cover. Some doctors refuse to treat Medicare patients at all because reimbursement is too low.

Medicaid. Medicaid is a joint federal and state program to help the poor pay for health care. Although the federal government funds half of Medicaid, each state establishes its own eligibility requirements, based on income, and administers its own program. Medicaid pays for hospital care, long-term nursing care, doctor fees, laboratory tests, and X rays. It also pays the fees and premiums for Medicare recipients who are near the poverty level. Many states have cut Medicaid services to reduce budget costs, and some patients are discovering that Medicaid benefits do not cover all their medical bills.

Rising Health Care Expenditures. Over the last two decades, the cost of health care has increased much faster than the overall rise in the cost of living. When Medicare and Medicaid were introduced in 1965, spending on medical services—by the government, private insurers, and patients—totaled about $41 billion, of which the federal government spent $1.7 billion. By 1986, health expenditures hit $458 billion, of which the federal government spent more than $133 billion, mostly on Medicare. Some experts predict that total health expenditures will hit $1.5 trillion by the year 2000.

Two major developments have fueled the increase in health care costs: (1) the expansion of a system in which patients do not pay their own medical bills and (2) the development of expensive new medical technologies. Some health care experts believe that the greatest spur to medical inflation has been the development of a system in



*Estimate
Source: Health Care Financing Administration

The annual cost of health care in the United States has nearly doubled in the last decade. Some experts estimate that yearly health care costs will reach more than $1 trillion by the year 2000.

which private insurers and the government pay for most health care services. Most insurers, including the government, cover 90 percent of patients' hospital costs and 80 percent of doctor fees. Most insurers also use an "after-the-fact, fee-for-service" payment policy. Under this policy, hospitals and doctors submit their bills directly to the insurance companies and are reimbursed for most of their costs. This method of payment has allowed some doctors and hospitals to charge high prices and to perform a large number of diagnostic tests in order to collect more money. (Some doctors have even submitted bills for services that were never provided.) In general, patients have not been concerned about the cost of health care because they trust their doctors' judgment and because they know their insurance will cover it.

The development of new technologies has also increased the cost of health care substantially. New medical equipment is expensive and requires highly trained, high-salaried operators. Often, several hospitals in the same area will buy the same expensive equipment and offer the same services. The added costs of the duplicated equipment and services are passed on to patients and their insurers.

Recent developments in medical technology have also made it possible to prolong life, adding to overall spending. Today, organ transplants are commonplace, dialysis is available for kidney failures, respirators keep people breathing when their lungs fail, and machines are assisting diseased hearts. But technological advances that prolong life are usually expensive. For example, a heart transplant operation costs between $75,000 and $125,000. Doctors are trained to keep patients alive at all costs and to give them the best treatment possible, but these efforts sometimes create severe financial strain for patients and their families. Increasingly, health care professionals, policymakers, and other experts are having to face a difficult question: As a society, how long can we afford to keep people alive?

Malpractice. In recent years, insurance rates for doctors have sharply increased. Doctors claim that malpractice suits—brought by patients against doctors for improper care—are driving up insurance rates to a point where doctors can no longer pay their premiums. The increasing number of patients suing their doctors and the larger monetary awards given by today's juries in malpractice lawsuits have pushed up insurance costs for doctors. Every year, American doctors pay more than $4 billion for medical malpractice insurance. Doctors in high-risk specialties such as obstetrics have been especially hard hit.

Many people believe that the rise in insurance rates for doctors boosts patients' costs and threatens the quality of medical care. Doctors usually pass on their rate increases to patients in the form

Most doctors recommend yearly medical checkups—especially for young people. But with health care costs continually rising, some experts fear that even basic medical care, such as a yearly checkup, may become too expensive for some Americans.

National Education Association/Joe Di Dio

of higher fees. Some doctors now order many diagnostic tests to protect themselves against potential lawsuits. Such tests increase health care costs by billions of dollars every year.

Government Spending. In addition to the Medicare and Medicaid programs, the federal government spends billions of dollars for other health-related programs, including funds for disease prevention, research, training, and consumer health and safety programs. The federal government provides funds for health research and training programs for doctors and nurses through the Center for Disease Control; the National Institutes of Health; and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. Government scientists provide about 85 percent of all health-related research in the country to find new treatments for cancer, heart disease, diabetes, allergies, arthritis, and other diseases. Federal programs provide medical care for members of the military and their families, veterans, and Native Americans. The government also sponsors education programs to teach people to lead healthier lives.

The AIDS Crisis. One disease targeted for federal spending is Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Since the early 1980s, nearly 60,000 Americans have died of AIDS. There is no cure for the disease and no vaccine to prevent its spread. However, experts claim that knowledge and understanding about AIDS can help prevent it from spreading.

AIDS is caused by a virus called the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). HIV attacks the white blood cells in the body. White blood cells make up the body's immune system, which helps protect a person from infections. When white blood cells are damaged, a person's ability to fend off disease decreases. Thus, people with AIDS are vulnerable to illnesses that would not pose a threat to them if their immune systems were functioning properly.

Federal spending on AIDS increased from $6 million in 1982 to $1.3 billion in 1989. Most of the federal funds—about $900 million—are spent on AIDS research, which many patients hope will result in a cure for the deadly disease. Some research money is used to test drugs to see if they are safe and effective to give to AIDS patients. The government spends most of the remaining $400 million on health care services for AIDS patients, including education programs, television ads, and other publicity campaigns.

Medical experts and policymakers in the United States agree that proper information and education can prevent thousands of people from contracting AIDS. Public awareness campaigns have begun nationwide, including AIDS education in schools.

The Growing AIDS Epidemic

Federal health officials project that by the end of 1993 at least 450,000 Americans will be diagnosed as having AIDS. Experts predict that 54,000 Americans—about the same as the number of U.S. servicemen killed during the Vietnam War—will die of AIDS in 1992 alone.

The Patient's Role in Health Care. Many experts say that patients should assume more responsibility in reducing their personal spending for health care. Currently, 97 cents out of every dollar Americans spend on health care goes for the treatment of disease. Only 2.5 cents goes for preventive care such as physical checkups and immunizations. (The other 0.5 cent is spent on educational programs to teach people how to stay healthy.) Experts believe that patients can lead healthier lives and reduce the amount of money spent on medical treatment by taking better care of themselves—for example, by exercising, controlling their diet, giving up smoking, and abstaining from alcohol. Experts also recommend that patients become more involved in medical decisionmaking by being informed and by seeking second opinions—especially when surgery is recommended.

Close Up Foundation

Today, more Americans realize the importance of preventive health care. By exercising, watching what they eat, and having periodic checkups, many people are reducing their need for costly medical treatment.

Current Issues

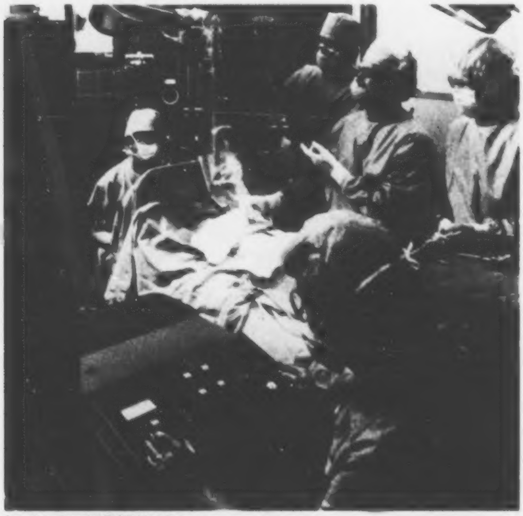
Is Health Care a Right? Should the federal government provide health care for all citizens? Many national leaders believe that it should. They say that health care is not a product like a car or a television set, but a necessity, and that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care. They point out that the United States and South Africa are the only industrialized nations in the world that do not guarantee their citizens' health care.

Some proponents of a greater role for government in health care want a national insurance plan. Such a plan would give everyone access to medical treatment because the government would pay patients' medical bills. But supporters of national health insurance disagree over how much coverage the government should provide.

Other proponents want to expand the government's role so that everyone receives government-financed medical insurance. A percentage of an individual's income would determine his or her annual payment for coverage. Some want the government to underwrite medical coverage completely, as is done in the United Kingdom and Canada. This program would be financed through payroll taxes and general tax revenues.

Critics of national health insurance say that the government cannot afford it. They argue that the federal government already faces a massive debt, and American citizens do not want higher taxes. Critics point out that more than 75 percent of the population is already insured for hospital costs and that a new national plan would only divert federal resources from other projects. They also claim that the government already supports a form of national insurance by subsidizing employers' health insurance policies for employees. Opponents of national health insurance believe that the government is already too involved in people's personal lives and should not be making medical decisions for them as well.

Reducing the Cost of Health Care. In the last decade, a number of plans have been proposed to reduce health care costs. One such plan is a system



American Hospital Publishing, Inc.

New medical techniques and technologies allow doctors to provide better care for patients. However, the techniques and the equipment required are often very expensive, raising the cost of medical care for private insurers, government-funded health programs, and patients.

called *diagnosis related group payments* (DRGs), which limits to fixed fees the amount paid to hospitals for specific treatments and diseases. The federal government began using DRGs in 1983 and several states have instituted similar plans. Supporters say that DRGs reduce health care costs because once the government stops paying for tests that are by and large unnecessary, hospitals—and doctors with patients in hospitals—will stop administering them. Critics say that DRGs and similar fixed-rate schedules force hospitals to cut back on services they provide to patients. They also charge that to save money, some hospitals are releasing patients before they are fully recovered.

Another proposal to reduce health care costs entails increasing competition among hospitals. Traditionally, hospitals have not had to make a profit, relying instead on charities and local government subsidies for support. But today, large corporations own and operate many hospitals. Corporate leaders believe that their hospitals are more efficient and less expensive to operate than community hospitals because they are more concerned with cost control and buy their supplies in huge quantities. Critics, however, contend that corporate-owned hospitals do not provide enough free care to patients who are unable to pay. This puts an unfair burden on community hospitals, which are required to take patients who cannot pay.

Another innovation is the development of health maintenance organizations (HMOs). HMOs offer a wide range of medical services at one location and charge patients a fixed annual fee to cover all their medical needs. HMOs are criticized for being more concerned with controlling costs than with offering high quality or personal care.

Experimental AIDS Drugs. To date, the government has licensed, or approved, only one drug, AZT, for treating AIDS patients. AZT prevents

TEST
DRUGS
NOT
PEOPLE
RED
TAPE
KILLS!
WE'RE
DYING
OF
RED
TAPE
SILENCE=DEATH
SILENCE=DEATH

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Since 1981, thousands of Americans have died of AIDS. While there is no cure for the disease, some drugs can stop the AIDS-causing virus from spreading and prolong the lives of patients. Some AIDS patients have accused the government of taking too much time to test and approve promising drugs.

the AIDS virus from multiplying, prolongs the lives of AIDS patients, and delays symptoms in people infected with HIV who are not yet sick. Although some drug companies have produced newer, potentially more powerful AIDS drugs, they must be tested by government researchers to determine if they are safe and effective. However, some AIDS patients complain that the government's testing procedures take too long before the drugs receive approval. They claim that some of these drugs passed the preliminary testing stage and could now be used to treat people. People who are dying of AIDS have urged the government to allow them to risk taking powerful and untested drugs that may prolong their lives. In 1989, the government responded to these demands and allowed some unproven drugs to be prescribed to AIDS patients.

Some health officials, however, disagree with the government's decision. They say that the government should follow the normal procedures for drug approval, which were designed to protect patients from harmful medicines. They claim that the drugs may cause painful side effects or have harmful long-term effects. Some health officials say that more testing of the new drugs over longer periods of time are needed to ensure that they help, rather than harm, AIDS patients.

Outlook

The biggest problem in health care is cost. Both the government and the health care industry are searching for ways to cut the cost of health care. Increased competition with corporate-owned hospitals and government spending limits have had some successes. Yet costs continue to rise and could triple in ten years. The government will be paying more of this cost, especially in Medicare benefits as Americans grow older and require more health care. Paying for health care for the elderly is only part of the problem. Millions of Americans who have no health insurance also need help meeting the high costs of medical care. The government's challenge is to maintain adequate, yet affordable, health care for the American people.

The Debate Health Care

Should the United States Adopt National Health Insurance?

PRO

Thirty-seven million Americans have no health insurance, and two-thirds of them are employed by firms that do not offer any insurance. Millions more have inadequate coverage. A national health insurance system would correct this and make medical care available to all. Such a plan would control rising health care costs and coordinate medical planning. And national insurance would cost less overall than the present system.

CON

A national health insurance plan is not necessary. More than 75 percent of all Americans are covered by insurance plans, and those who are not would be best served by more competition in the health care industry and selected government regulation. National insurance would drain the federal budget, raise taxes, and lead to government intrusion in sensitive medical decisions.

Would More Competition Lower Health Care Costs?

PRO

Competition in the health care industry will reduce costs because everyone will be allowed to make their own decisions concerning health care. Consumers will pick the most cost-efficient program for their needs. Suppliers of health care—such as insurance companies and corporate-owned hospitals—will compete with one another to offer quality service at reduced rates.

CON

Adequate health care for all cannot be provided in a free marketplace. Purchasing health care is not the same as buying a car or a pair of shoes. People who are sick do not shop around for cheap doctors and hospitals. Rather, they depend on their doctors to make the best possible medical decisions. The best way to control costs is through improved government regulation and close monitoring of medical fees.

Should the Government Allow AIDS Patients to Use Experimental Drugs?

PRO

AIDS patients are dying. They—not the government—should be able to decide whether to risk using an unproven drug that could save their lives. Some new AIDS drugs have already passed initial safety tests. AIDS patients should not be denied a safe, potentially helpful drug because government testing programs take so long.

CON

AIDS patients should wait until drugs have been licensed as safe and effective before they take them. The reason testing programs take so long is that some drugs are found to be harmful after they are taken. Only long-term testing can determine what these effects will be. Unlicensed drugs could do more harm than good to people with AIDS.

Immigration

The United States was built by immigrants who came to this country to begin a new life. Before 1882, the United States was open to anyone. But as the population swelled, the federal government decided to control immigration. Laws were passed in the late 1800s and early 1900s that set limits on the number of immigrants from particular countries. In 1965, these quota limits were replaced by laws that limited not only the number of immigrants from countries outside the Western Hemisphere but also, for the first time, limited the number of immigrants from countries within the Western Hemisphere. These laws included Latin Americans, who for years had been coming to the United States. Many Latin Americans ignored the laws and came illegally. In 1986, the U.S. government, while offering amnesty to these illegal aliens, decided to crack down on future illegal immigration.

Today, the United States limits immigration to 600,000 newcomers a year. However, officials estimate that millions of people are living illegally in the United States. Many illegal immigrants cross the U.S.-Mexican border to escape poverty in Latin America.

Some Americans say that these people had to immigrate illegally because current laws do not provide visas to those fleeing poverty. Should the United States accept immigrants who are leaving poor economic conditions, political and religious persecution, or harsh governments at home? The answers that today's leaders give to this question will determine tomorrow's immigration policy.

Key Questions

- Should the United States restrict further immigration?
- Should the government punish employers who hire illegal aliens?
- Should economic refugees be admitted?

Background

The Days of Unlimited Immigration. The United States was founded and settled by immigrants. At first, the country was open to anyone wishing to make a new start. Many people came here to escape war, poverty, famine, or religious persecution. Others came to seek their fortune in a land where "the streets were paved with gold" (a myth perpetuated in Europe by some steamship companies). These and other factors resulted in a large-scale exodus of people from around the world to the United States of America.

Quotas. During the first twenty years of the twentieth century, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe crowded into large U.S. cities. Some Americans viewed the new immigrants as a threat to the rising standard of living because they were willing to work long hours for little pay. In addition, the anticommunist mood that followed World War I made some citizens suspicious of anyone who seemed particularly "foreign." They believed that these new immigrants were racially and culturally inferior to people of northern and western European descent. Many Americans argued that the new immigrants would be less able to learn English and become *assimilated*, or be absorbed, into American culture. As a result, many U.S. citizens resented the new immigrants and called for limits on further immigration.

The first immigration laws tried to preserve the racial, religious, and ethnic composition of the United States. Immigration from Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland was encouraged because natives of these countries seemed more likely to be assimilated. However, immigration from eastern and southern Europe was discouraged.

U.S. Population Trends

The population mix of the United States is constantly changing, but if current immigration and birth patterns hold, the Population Reference Bureau predicts dramatic changes by the year 2080.

Population distribution by race (in percent):

	1980	2080
White	79.9	49.9
Black	11.7	14.7
Hispanic	6.4	23.4
Asian and others	2.0	12.0

The Bettmann Archive

From 1880 to 1920 more than 23 million immigrants—most of them from southern and eastern Europe—came to the United States seeking a new life. Many of the newcomers settled in large cities in the East.

Congress wrote the first quota law in 1921. Previous patterns of immigration determined the quotas. Annual immigration to the United States from any given country was limited to no more than 3 percent of the number of people from that country living in the United States when the 1910 census was taken. For example, if the census showed that 10,000 German immigrants were living in the United States in 1910, the 1921 German quota would have been 300.

Congress tightened the restrictions in 1924. The new laws used the 1890 census instead of the 1910 census and allowed only 2 percent of each national group into the country. Use of the earlier census figures sharply restricted the number of eastern and southern Europeans who could enter, since most of them came to the United States in large numbers after 1890.

In 1929, Congress passed the National Origins Act in response to prejudices of the time. This act sharply limited immigration by those of "less desirable" heritage. Of the annual quota of slightly more than 150,000 immigrants, 70 percent were to come from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia; the remaining 30 percent were limited to countries in southern and eastern Europe.

Displaced Persons Act of 1948. World War II left millions of people homeless. In his 1947 State of the Union address, President Harry Truman encouraged Congress to admit a larger number of immigrants. In 1948, Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act, which took in some of the homeless. However, the law was criticized because it required each immigrant to pass a security check and to have proof of employment and housing that would not displace U.S. citizens.

McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. The McCarran-Walter Act, which revised the 1929 National Origins Act, further tightened controls over aliens and immigrants by adding ideology to nationality as a criterion for admission to the United States. Passed partly because of the "Red Scare" of the 1950s, the law sought to weed out people with even marginal communist backgrounds or sympathies. One of its most controversial provisions stated that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) must keep a listing (known as the *Lookout Book*) of any foreigners who "might endanger the welfare, safety, or security of the United States" because of their past or present political views or actions.

Over the years, the McCarran-Walter Act was used to prevent many writers, artists, and politicians from entering the United States. Among those denied entry were Nobel prize-winning author Gabriel Garcia Marquez of Mexico, South African poet Dennis Brutus, Colombian journalist Patricia Lara, and Pierre Trudeau, who later became prime minister of Canada. In 1990, Congress substantially revised the McCarran-Walter Act to make it illegal for the U.S. government to deny anyone entry into the country on the basis of beliefs, statements, or associations. Terrorists and others who threaten national security, however, could still be excluded.

Immigration Act of 1965. The 1965 Immigration Act represented a major reform of all previous immigration statutes. It abolished the quotas that discriminated against nationalities, substituting an overall quota of 170,000 non-Western Hemisphere immigrants. The act gave preference to applicants who had professional qualifications or special labor skills, were related to U.S. citizens, or had need for political asylum.

But the act also limited immigration from countries in the Western Hemisphere for the first time to 120,000 annually, thereby creating a serious illegal immigrant problem. Before 1965, thousands of jobs requiring cheap labor were filled by immigrants from Mexico and Central America who needed only to apply for temporary or permanent visas to be admitted legally. Latin Americans had been drawn to the United States for some time because of its booming economy and the deep poverty in their own countries. Since 1965, however, with limitations in place, many immigrants from Latin America have been living and working in the United States illegally.

Refugees. The Refugee Act of 1980 legally defined a refugee as someone who flees a country because of persecution "on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." The act gives the president, in consultation with Congress, the power to establish an annual ceiling on the number of refugees who may enter the United States. In 1990, that number was 125,000. The act also allows the president to admit any group of refugees in an emergency.

Citizenship Requirements

To become a citizen of the United States, a person must be legally admitted into the country for permanent residence and:

- **be over eighteen years old**
- **have lived in the United States for five years**
- **be of good moral character**
- **be able to read, write, and speak English**
- **demonstrate a knowledge of American history and government**
- **not belong to any organization that advocates the overthrow of the government by violence or the doctrines of communism**

Although some Latin Americans legally enter the United States at the U.S.-Mexican border each year, many more attempt to cross illegally to escape poverty and war.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

The Refugee Act of 1980 represented a major change in immigration policy. Before 1980, only a special act of Congress could admit groups of refugees. Most often, Congress admitted refugees fleeing communism. For example, Congress passed special laws to admit more than 445,000 Cubans who fled their country after Fidel Castro took power in 1959 and 565,000 refugees who fled Southeast Asia after South Vietnam came under communist control in 1976.

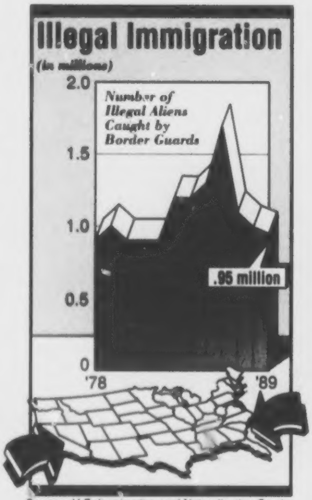
Illegal Aliens. For many of the world's people, the United States symbolizes freedom and opportunity. To the people of Latin America, the United States has long been a haven from poverty and civil war. Immigration quotas allow some Latin Americans to enter the United States legally, but many more come illegally. Many work in low-paying, unskilled jobs such as weeding and harvesting crops or busing tables in restaurants.

Some people say that the United States exploits illegal aliens. Because they have no legal status, they are often paid salaries below the minimum wage. For years, illegal immigrants have been afraid to complain about low wages or harsh working conditions because they feared they would be fired or reported to immigration officials. But even working below minimum wage, illegal aliens have often prospered in the United States, earning much more than they could in their own countries.

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. After five years of debate in Congress, President Ronald Reagan signed the most sweeping immigration reform law of the past twenty years. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 is designed to stop the flow of illegal immigration into the United States from Latin America by imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens. At the same time, the law gives illegal aliens who have been living in the United States since 1982 the opportunity to become legal citizens.

Employer Sanctions. Under the law, any employer who knowingly hires illegal aliens can be punished. Employers can be fined from $250 to as much as $10,000 for each illegal alien found working for them. Repeat offenders are subject to higher fines and possible imprisonment. Many lawmakers believe that the sanctions deter employers from hiring illegal aliens, thereby decreasing the number of illegal immigrants seeking jobs in the United States.

Amnesty for Illegal Aliens. For one year after the law went into effect, the government granted *amnesty* to illegal aliens who could prove they had lived continuously in the United States since January 1, 1982. Illegal aliens could seek *temporary resident* status from the government by submitting an application form with documented proof that they had been living in the United States during the the period indicated by the law. Once granted amnesty, illegal aliens could then become *permanent residents* by showing a minimal understanding of English and some knowledge of U.S. history and government. In five years, they would be eligible for full citizenship.



Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Although the number of illegal aliens apprehended by U.S. border patrols decreased from 1.7 million in 1986 to 940,000 by 1988, arrest rates began to increase in mid-1989, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A report by the Center for Immigration Studies concluded that illegal immigration is increasing because of rapidly growing working-age populations in Central America, aliens' access to falsified immigration documents, and fewer agents patrolling the U.S.-Mexican border.

Despite the opportunity for many illegal aliens to gain full U.S. citizenship, there were problems with implementing the amnesty program. When the program began, the INS predicted that between 2 and 4 million illegal aliens would apply for amnesty. However, only about 1.8 million applications were filed during the one-year amnesty period. One reason for the low turnout was that many illegal aliens could not provide the documents necessary to prove they were living in the United States since January 1982. Because most illegal aliens go to great lengths to conceal themselves from the law, proving eligibility for amnesty with rent receipts, social security cards, income tax forms, or letters verifying their employment was extremely difficult. In addition, many illegal aliens distrusted the U.S. government; they spent years avoiding the INS and were hesitant to come forward and trust these same officials for fear that they would be deported.

Current Issues

Should the United States Restrict Further Immigration? Many people say that the United States should try to restrict further immigration for economic reasons. But critics of increasing restrictions claim that economic arguments sometimes hide an underlying racism among some Americans. Some of the issues surrounding this debate concern the protection of American jobs and American culture.

Do Immigrants Take Jobs Away From U.S. Citizens? Those who want to restrict immigration maintain that the United States cannot absorb more immigrants. Advocates of restrictions believe that newcomers take jobs away from Americans—particularly minorities—because they increase the overall labor pool and are willing to

Environmental Protection Agency/Bill Gillette

Historically, many immigrants have worked at low-paying jobs. Policymakers say that the 1986 immigration law gives immigrants the opportunity to join unions and ask employers for higher wages and better working conditions.

work for lower wages. Critics of this view argue that immigrants are important because they are willing to take jobs that many native-born Americans sometimes turn down. Moreover, these critics say, today's immigrants are like the immigrants who arrived at the turn of the century: They come here with the will to succeed and usually do.

Should Immigrants Be Required to Speak English? Some people argue that restrictions on immigration are necessary to maintain America's national identity. The great increase in arrivals from developing countries, especially from Latin America and Asia, has brought dramatic changes to some parts of the United States. For example, Spanish has become a major language in the Southwest and in Miami, Florida. It is spoken on the streets and in public schools, broadcast over Spanish-language television and radio stations, displayed on billboards, and required on election ballots.

Some Americans resent the prevalence of Spanish-speaking persons in their communities. They believe that English is the language of the

NARANJO
BARBER ★ SHOP
GARDEN SHOP
EL COLADITO

AP/Wide World Photos

For the past two decades, immigrants from Latin America have brought dramatic changes to many areas of the nation. In communities with large Hispanic populations, signs written in Spanish are common.

United States, and therefore immigrants should learn it and use it. Some states have passed laws declaring English their official language. Many experts believe that the laws will be used to outlaw bilingual education, bilingual ballots, and other services offered in both English and Spanish.

But many people consider such arguments to be racist. They point out that most immigrants want to learn English because it is the only sure way a person can "get ahead" in the United States. They say that the United States should help newcomers by investing more time and energy in teaching English to immigrants.

Sanctions Against Employers Who Hire Illegal Aliens. Many employers oppose the provision in the Immigration Reform and Control Act that allows the government to fine them for hiring illegal immigrants. Employers feel that the law is asking the business community to do the government's job by requiring them to do background checks on everyone they hire. In addition, employers fear that they will be fined for hiring an illegal worker by mistake. Some employers say that the policy is misguided because immigrants, even illegal ones, are vital to the economy. Business operators maintain that immigrants often take the low-paying jobs that Americans turn down. These critics of the law say that fining employers who hire illegal aliens only hurts the economy.

However, proponents of employer sanctions claim that the sanctions are necessary. They say that most illegal immigrants come to the United States because they know that there is work for them when they cross the border. Employers who are fined for hiring illegal immigrants will stop hiring them. Illegal aliens will stop coming to this country if there are no jobs for them. Moreover, proponents claim that the sanctions are working. Immigration officials report that illegal immigration along the U.S.-Mexican border decreased after the law was passed.

Economic Refugees. Every year thousands of people from around the world seek admission to the United States as refugees. The INS has ruled that, according to the 1980 Refugee Act, the majority of these immigrants are in fact not refugees and therefore are not eligible for admission into this country. The Refugee Act defines a refugee as someone who is fleeing political or religious persecution, not economic conditions. The government fears that if the United States were to admit economic refugees, the country would soon be overwhelmed by the world's poor. These people would be unable to find jobs and would drain public assistance funds quickly. The 1986 immigration law does not address this problem.

Critics of the INS believe that the United States should broaden its definition of "refugee" to include persons trying to escape severe poverty. Those who favor a broader definition argue that

Refugees from Vietnam

In December 1987, Congress passed legislation giving refugee status to Amerasian children (children fathered by American military personnel serving in Southeast Asia) and political prisoners fleeing Vietnam.

Since its beginning, the United States has symbolized freedom and opportunity to many of the world's peoples. Today, the ideal still lives—more than 85 percent of the nation's legal immigrants become U.S. citizens.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

many of the people who immigrated to the United States a century ago were economic refugees. They say that it is unfair to grant refugee status to people who fear their lives are in danger because of their political views and then to deny admission to people whose lives are in danger because of severe poverty.

Outlook

Each year, Congress and the president must decide how many immigrants will be admitted into the United States. Current laws give priority to immigrants who have special skills, are related to Americans, are seeking political asylum, or who face persecution in their own countries. Public officials who favor restricting further immigration claim that the immigrants take jobs away from Americans, drain public assistance funds, and sometimes refuse to speak English. Others, however, say that immigration should not be restricted because immigrants work hard, often at jobs many Americans turn down. They claim that like yesterday's immigrants, today's newcomers are usually determined to become successful members of American society. The question of whether to keep America's doors open or closed continues to be intensely debated in Congress, the White House, and in communities where immigrants settle.

The Debate Immigration

Should the United States Restrict Further Immigration?

PRO

The United States should place more limits on immigration to protect American jobs. Immigrants take jobs away from Americans—especially the poor, who need jobs the most. Immigrants also destroy America's national identity by refusing to speak English and demanding that services be offered in their own languages.

CON

Attempts to restrict immigration are often racist. Immigrants are important to the U.S. economy because they often take jobs that Americans refuse. They are usually hard workers who are determined to succeed in this country. They also enrich the cultural life of the country by bringing with them customs and foods from their native lands.

Should the Government Punish Employers Who Hire Illegal Aliens?

PRO

Punishing employers who hire illegal aliens is the only way to stop illegal immigrants from coming to the United States. Illegal immigrants come to this country because they know there are jobs for them. Employers who know that they will be punished for hiring illegal aliens will be less likely to do so. Because fewer jobs will be available to illegal immigrants, they will stop coming to the United States.

CON

Punishing employers who hire illegal aliens hurts many minorities in the United States. Employers may be reluctant to hire "foreign-looking" or "foreign-sounding" people—even those who are legal citizens—for fear they might be living in this country illegally. Futhermore, the business community should not have to do the government's job.

Should Economic Refugees Be Admitted?

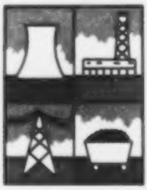
PRO

The U.S. government assigns refugee status to people who might be imprisoned in their own countries for the things they believe or say. Yet it denies refugee status to people who are suffering from severe poverty. The United States has always offered people the opportunity to help themselves. How can it stop now?

CON

If the United States were to open its doors to economic refugees, it would soon be flooded by the world's poor seeking admission. The United States has neither the resources nor the jobs to provide for all these people. The result would be merely to import more poverty.

Energy



The United States literally runs on energy. The nation needs vast amounts of energy to fuel its cars, power its factories, heat its homes, and light its streets. For the past thirty years, oil has been America's major energy source. But oil, which was once cheap and plentiful, is running out. In fact, some experts predict that the world's oil supplies will be exhausted in less than fifty years. Will the United States be prepared when the wells run dry?

In the 1970s, oil-exporting countries in the Middle East sharply reduced world petroleum supplies, causing prices to skyrocket and creating an energy crisis. The U.S. government responded to this crisis by passing laws to conserve fuel and to develop alternatives to oil. Government action resulted in fuel-efficient cars, lower speed limits, and better-insulated homes.

Today, the energy crisis of the 1970s is only a memory. Increased domestic oil production has caused prices to decline and reserves to rise. As a result, many of the government's efforts to help the nation cope with less fuel have been scaled back. But some experts fear that another energy crisis may once again catch the nation off guard. They point out that the United States currently imports 42 percent of its oil, and they predict that by the mid-1990s the nation will import 50 percent of its oil.

Some Americans wonder if there is enough time for the United States to develop energy alternatives before there is no more oil. Who should supply the research and the funding to develop these alternatives? Should the government get involved, or should the energy industry make these decisions?

Key Questions

- **Should the government, rather than the free market, dictate energy policy for the United States?**
- **Should the United States increase its use of coal?**
- **Should the United States build more nuclear power plants?**

Background

Energy Sources

Energy Means Growth. The United States depends on energy to produce economic growth and income. Energy is needed to transport people and materials, power machines, and operate communications. Plentiful energy also improves the quality of life for everyone. The United States has the world's largest consumer economy and is also one of the greatest consumers of energy. Although the United States has only 5 percent of the world's population, Americans consume more than 25 percent of the energy used worldwide every year.

Energy Supplies in the Nineteenth Century. Large supplies of inexpensive domestic energy resources helped spur American economic growth throughout its history. Until the twentieth century, the major sources of energy were *renewable*. For example, wood was a primary source of heating fuel, river currents powered New England textile factories, and windmills pumped water on midwestern farms. After 1900, however, demand for energy increased, and Americans were forced to rely upon *fossil fuels*—oil, coal, and natural gas—as their main sources of energy. Coal soon surpassed wood as the nation's primary energy source.

Oil Becomes King. After World War II, American lifestyles and energy needs changed. Urban sprawl, big homes, and America's growing love affair with the automobile made oil the number one source of energy in the United States by 1950. Oil was cheap and plentiful, and the supply seemed endless. As energy needs increased even more in the 1960s and 1970s, the United States began to import more oil. By 1973, oil provided nearly half the energy consumed in the United States. Thirty-six percent of this oil was imported.

The Arab Oil Embargo. In an effort to increase the price of oil on the world market, thirteen nations joined together in 1960 to form the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). OPEC members controlled more than half of the world's oil reserves. In 1973, OPEC's Arab members cut off oil shipments to the United States and the Netherlands because the two nations had supported Israel in a war with its Arab neighbors, Syria and Egypt. At the same time, the Arab oil exporters drastically cut their total production and unilaterally announced sharp increases in the price of oil. From October to December 1973, the price of oil rose from $3 to more than $11 a barrel. The Arab oil embargo created tremendous shortages around the world and was the leading cause of the 1974-75 economic recession.

The Arab oil embargo of 1973 had a tremendous impact on life in the United States. People had to wait in line for hours to buy gasoline, and many parts of the country experienced severe shortages.

Library of Congress

Alternative Energy Sources. OPEC announced the end of the embargo in March 1974, but the embargo's impact on American energy consumption was dramatic. Nearly two generations of Americans had built an entire lifestyle around the availability of cheap oil. Now alternatives to oil had to be developed.

Nuclear Energy. During the 1950s and 1960s, nuclear energy was promoted as the energy source of the future. Although nuclear energy was never expected to fuel automobiles or trucks, it was expected to generate around 50 percent of the nation's electricity by the year 2000. However, nuclear energy is unlikely to meet the expectations once imagined. The high costs of building reactors, the unresolved problem of disposing of highly radioactive nuclear waste, and public opposition to nuclear power have caused utility companies to cut back on developing nuclear energy to generate electricity.

Coal. Many experts believe that U.S. energy needs can be met by returning to the former major energy source, coal. They point out that coal reserves are plentiful in the United States and can provide enough electric power for more than 200 years. However, coal does have drawbacks. It is a major source of air pollution and acid rain, plus, coal strip-mining destroys thousands of acres of land every year.

Synthetic Fuels. Synthetic fuels are oil or gas substitutes made from coal or oil shale and processed into liquid or gaseous form. During the 1970s, many experts saw synthetic fuels as the solution to the energy crisis. As research increased in the field, however, they discovered that synthetic fuels have three serious problems. First, synthetic fuels are expensive to produce. Second, producing synthetic fuels requires large amounts of water, which is scarce in the western United States where most of the coal and oil shale are located. Third, producing synthetic fuels could

Gas-Guzzling Automobiles

About 4 percent of the gasoline used by U.S. drivers is consumed during traffic jams.

Large, modern windmills were constructed in many western states in the 1970s as alternative energy sources to oil.

Department of Energy

create severe environmental problems. Much of the waste of synthetic fuel production from coal and shale oil is highly toxic. Some method would be needed to detoxify the waste. Burying it would poison the earth and nearby water sources.

Renewable Energy Sources. Renewable—or inexhaustible—energy sources include wind, water, and solar power. These alternative sources of energy are nonpolluting, and the supplies will never run out. During the energy crisis of the late 1970s, many homeowners installed solar-powered water heaters, and some local utilities in California and other western states used windmills to produce small amounts of electricity. However, the cost of installing large solar or wind energy systems is still high and thus impractical for large industries and communities.

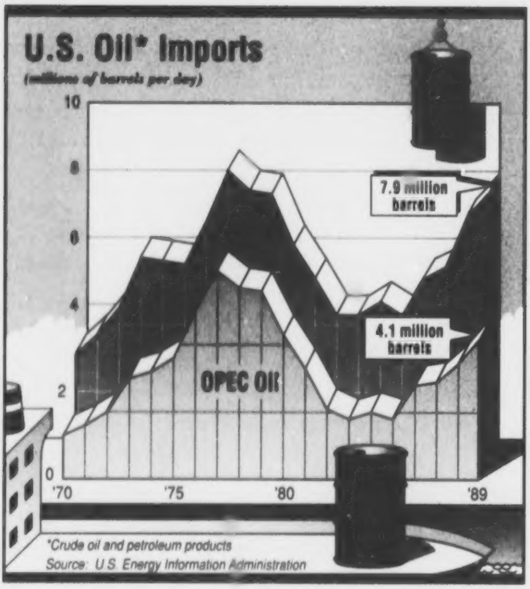
American Energy Policy

Wasteful Consumption. In the 1950s and 1960s, the price of oil and gas was low and its supply was high. Energy consumption increased rapidly. U.S. energy policy could be summed up in one sentence: use as much as you want, pay as little as possible.

Nixon's Energy Policies. The Arab oil embargo forced Americans to realize how much they depended on foreign oil. President Richard Nixon proposed an energy policy that would make the United States self-sufficient. Conservation and development of American energy sources became primary goals. Alaskan oil was critical to Nixon's energy plans, which included developing Alaskan oil fields and constructing an oil pipeline across the state. Conservation programs included reducing of the speed limit on highways from seventy to fifty-five miles per hour (later changed to sixty-five miles per hour), year-round daylight saving time (later repealed by Congress), and new laws to make American cars more energy-efficient.

A Return to Wasteful Habits. After the Arab oil embargo, OPEC continued to keep prices high by limiting production. However, the prices were not going up as fast, and the introduction of oil from Alaska and Britain's North Sea provided alternative sources to expensive OPEC oil. Consumers in industrialized countries began returning to their old energy consumption habits. Total U.S. energy consumption grew almost 11 percent between 1975 and 1978.

Carter's Energy Policies. In April 1977, President Jimmy Carter proposed an energy plan to cut U.S. demand for oil. His program included establishing the Department of Energy, curtailing price



*Crude oil and petroleum products
Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

Although dependence on OPEC oil has decreased, the United States imports more than 5 million barrels of oil every day. (One barrel of oil equals 42 gallons.) Some experts say that relying so much on foreign oil is dangerous and could lead to higher prices for gasoline, heating oil, and other petroleum products if overseas suppliers cut off shipments or raise costs.

controls on natural gas, and strengthening conservation efforts. In 1979, world oil supplies fell and oil prices doubled after a revolution in Iran, then a major supplier of oil. After this second energy crisis, Congress passed several of President Carter's measures to reduce oil consumption and bring America closer to energy independence.

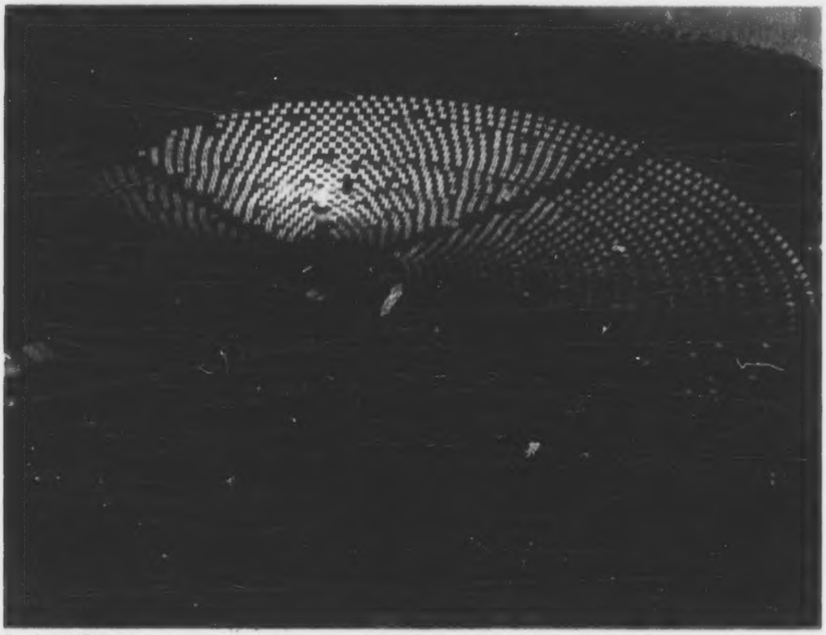
Phased Decontrol of Oil Prices. The idea behind price decontrol was that domestic oil prices—which had been under price control regulations since 1971—needed to rise to the world market level to encourage oil development at home and to foster conservation among consumers. As a result of decontrol, the oil industry drilled more wells in the United States than ever before, using advanced technology to reach trapped oil, and old wells were reopened. Since then, however, a surplus of world oil has slowed domestic oil exploration.

Windfall Profits Tax. Fearing that price decontrol would bring huge profits to oil companies, President Carter proposed and saw passed a stiff tax on 60 percent of domestic oil company revenues resulting from decontrol.

Synthetic Fuels Corporation. Because dependence on imported oil had threatened U.S. security during the 1970s, Congress created the Synthetic Fuels Corporation. This public corporation, funded by the federal government, was established to help finance the research and development of synthetic fuels made from domestic resources.

Solar and Conservation Bank. Congress created the Solar and Conservation Bank to encourage the use of energy-saving and solar technologies. The federally run bank provided loans and subsidies for home improvements that conserved energy or used solar energy.

This solar power plant near Barstow, California, consists of 1,800 reflecting mirrors that surround a central receiver installed on a high tower. Although solar power is renewable and nonpolluting, it is still expensive to produce on a large scale.



Department of Energy

The Oil Glut. In 1980, oil prices peaked at $39 a barrel. Since then, prices have declined steadily to $16 a barrel in 1989. The price decline is due to a great extent to a surplus of oil—a "glut"—on the market relative to the demand. Increased production by non-OPEC countries, such as Mexico, have supplemented world supplies of oil. Prices declined further because some of the smaller OPEC nations, such as Nigeria and Indonesia, have been undercutting the official OPEC price to keep their export sales up so they can pay for their economic development. In addition, industrialized countries have reduced their need for oil by improving energy conservation programs and by substituting other energy sources.

Reagan's Energy Policies. President Ronald Reagan had a different energy philosophy from his predecessor, Jimmy Carter. Reagan agreed with Carter that oil and gas prices should be deregulated and that the United States should produce more of its own oil. However, Reagan said that the best way to produce more energy was for the government to stay out of the energy business and let the marketplace decide what energy resources it wanted and when to develop new technologies, such as solar energy and synthetic fuels. With oil prices falling and oil reserves increasing, Congress, for the most part, agreed with President Reagan and reversed many of Carter's energy policies. In the last several years, Congress has abolished the Synthetic Fuels Corporation and the Solar and Conservation Bank, repealed the windfall profits tax, revoked tax credits for energy-saving homeowners, and allowed states to raise the speed limit to sixty-five miles per hour on rural interstate highways.

Current Issues

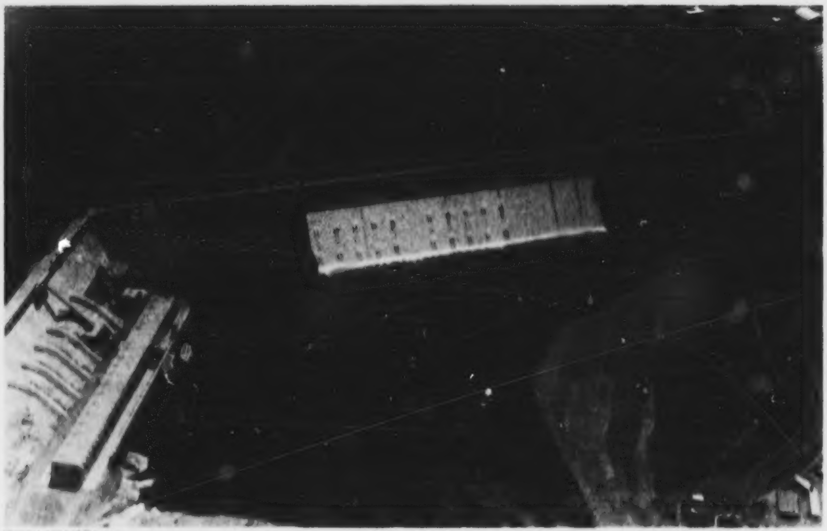
Should the Government Be Involved in the Energy Business? Since the first energy crisis in 1973, many Americans have debated the proper role for the government in energy. Both Presidents Nixon and Carter enlarged the role of government in energy by regulating prices, distribution, and overall supplies and by making plans to guard the country against future energy crises. On the other hand, President Reagan believed that reducing the government's role in energy policy actually protected the United States from an energy crisis.

Those who support reducing the federal role in the energy business argue that the price and supply of energy should be determined solely by market conditions. If a source of energy is in short supply, then it will have a high price, which in turn will encourage increased development of that energy source or the sale of less expensive alternatives. Supporters of the free market say that the current oil glut proves the effectiveness of the private market system. When government allocation and price controls were lifted in 1981, the market—through supply and demand—established the price for oil and gasoline. When the price became too high, Americans began buying smaller, more fuel-efficient cars and insulating their homes to conserve energy. When demand went down, so did the price, giving Americans the lower prices they have today. In addition, free market advocates believe that when the day comes that oil is truly in short supply and very expensive, its high price will then make it more worthwhile for businesses to develop energy alternatives such as synthetic fuels or solar energy.

Supporters of government action note that the free market is rarely "free." For example, the American energy crisis of the 1970s was a result of

The Shape of Things to Come?

About 3 percent of the world's oil reserves are in the United States, while 66 percent are in OPEC countries. By the end of this century, the United States may be importing as much as 50 percent of its oil needs, and most of the oil will come from the Middle East.



Department of Energy

Dams allow the United States to use water power to generate electricity. The nation's rivers can provide a renewable energy source, but some people oppose using dams because of the damage that can result to wildlife that live in and near the water.

outside political actions over which market conditions had no control. In that case, oil-exporting countries were able to manipulate the market to get the prices they wanted. Government regulation helped overcome the energy crisis by reducing demand faster than market forces could. The government did this through tax incentives that encouraged home insulation before the prices peaked and through regulations that required improved gas mileage in cars. Advocates of government regulation believe that the government should regulate energy consumption to prevent wastefulness so that another energy crisis will not catch the nation off guard. Furthermore, by developing energy alternatives now, the government can ensure that the country has other energy sources to fall back on when oil supplies run out, thus preventing economic chaos.

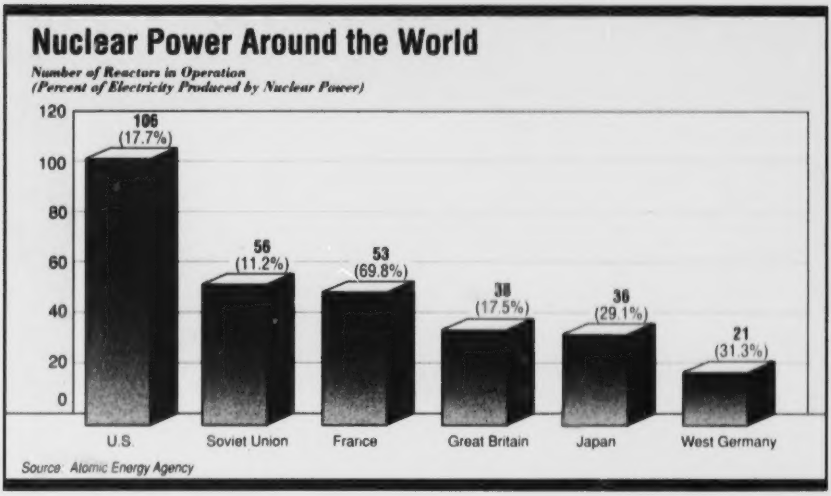
Coal. The United States has already begun to use more coal as an oil substitute, especially in electricity production. But increasing the use of coal has serious drawbacks. First, the burning of coal is blamed by many as one of the leading causes of acid rain. Acid rain has been branded as a major contributor to the death and disease of trees; the acidification of lakes; the accelerated corrosion of bridges and buildings; and the destruction of outdoor art treasures (especially in Europe). Other drawbacks to coal include health and safety hazards to miners, environmental damage from strip-mines, and the difficulty of transporting it.

Supporters of coal usage, including President Bush, say that it is too valuable an energy source to ignore. Coal costs less to produce than oil and natural gas. Furthermore, recent environmental and mine safety laws have helped reduce some of the dangers associated with its extraction and use. Proponents point out that with the tough standards set down by the 1970 Clean Air Act, pollutants have actually declined in the last decade, even though more coal is being used. Federal laws have also led to the restoration of the landscape that had been strip-mined and to a reduction in coal mining deaths.

Nuclear Energy. Most energy experts predict that by the 1990s the United States will not have enough electricity to meet its demands. The nuclear power industry has urged the government to build additional nuclear reactors immediately to meet the needs of energy consumers. However, opposition to nuclear energy is strong. Most of the opposition has focused on the safety of reactors and the safe disposal of nuclear waste. Critics of nuclear energy fear that a serious accident—for example, a meltdown of the fuel rods, a rupture of the reactor vessel, and the release of radioactive gases into the air—could possibly kill thousands of people and damage the surrounding area for hundreds of years. The nuclear industry counters by arguing that the chances of an accident are less than one in 10 million, requiring the failure of

The Decline in Nuclear Power

Since 1978, the United States has not announced plans to build any new nuclear power plants, and construction on many proposed plants has stopped.



Nuclear Power Around the World

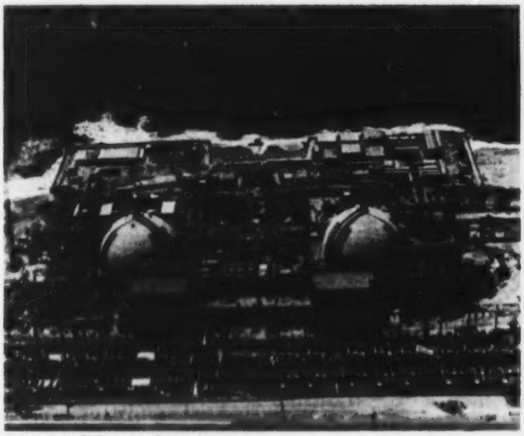
Number of Reactors in Operation
(Percent of Electricity Produced by Nuclear Power)

Source: Atomic Energy Agency

The United States has the most nuclear power plants in the world, but only a small percentage of the nation's electricity comes from them. France, on the other hand, has half the number of plants as the United States, but generates more than four times the electricity from nuclear power.

every automatic safety device. But nuclear critics say that the odds are not so great. They charge that although reactors are equipped with numerous safety devices and backup systems, these devices are not designed to handle simultaneous failures in the system. They point to the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the Soviet Union and the Three Mile Island plant in the United States as evidence of the risks inherent in nuclear technology.

Despite the concerns of antinuclear groups, nuclear energy officials stand on the industry's record. They note that the industry has more than 1,100 plant-years of operating experience and that during that time not one person has died from a nuclear accident in a nuclear power plant, not even at Three Mile Island. They say that a nuclear accident such as the one that happened at Chernobyl could not happen in the United States. Proponents of nuclear power also argue that other energy sources are more injurious than nuclear power. For example, many people die or are injured each year in coal mining accidents and oil



Courtesy of U.S. Council for Energy Awareness

Many people see nuclear power plants as the nation's answer to future energy needs. However, public concern over the possibility of deadly accidents has caused many power companies to cut back on the construction of nuclear plants.

tank explosions. In addition, air pollution, caused by the burning of fossil fuels, is especially dangerous to many older people and people with lung diseases.

Outlook

The biggest issue surrounding energy today is the question of urgency. Nearly everyone agrees that diminishing oil supplies is a problem. But few agree on the severity of the problem. Some say that there is little chance of another energy crisis and that America is now energy-efficient. Others argue that the oil glut and resulting drops in oil prices have lulled Americans into a false sense of security. They suggest that American companies and the government should develop alternative energy sources before it is too late. Will the United States be prepared for the next energy crisis if—and when—it comes?

The Debate Energy

Should the Government, Rather Than the Free Market, Dictate Energy Policy for the United States?

PRO

The prospect of future energy shortages requires government action. The Bush administration can start now, before another energy crisis, to work on future alternatives. It can plan ahead so that all segments of the economy—including the poor—receive their fair share. Regulation can prevent energy businesses from creating artificial energy shortages and from profiting unfairly from real energy crises. Also, during temporary energy surpluses, the government can ensure that the United States continues to conserve the world's limited energy reserves. The country has already benefited from laws requiring better gas mileage in cars and from encouraging energy-saving investments.

CON

Government regulation of energy is a cause of our energy problems, not a solution. When the government regulated the price of oil, oil companies lacked the incentive to drill in the United States and instead increased the country's dependence on foreign imports of oil. Now that price controls have been removed, the free market has responded by providing as much oil as the country needs, causing the price of energy to decline. When supplies of oil eventually dwindle, the free market will promote development of alternative energy sources to fill the gap.

Should the United States Increase Its Use of Coal?

PRO

The advantages of coal far outweigh its disadvantages. First, the United States has a huge reserve of coal; it will be at least 200 years before it runs out. Second, coal is cheap, costing less than both oil and natural gas. Uncontrolled, coal may have an adverse environmental impact, but government regulations will reduce the threat. Already regulations have succeeded in lowering the overall amount of air pollution from coal use despite a 50 percent increase in its use.

CON

When coal producers talk about the low price of coal, they forget to mention the high cost of acid rain on the environment and public buildings or the effect of pollution on human health. Coal is just one alternative to oil. The nation should look to solar and nuclear power to help supply energy, and Americans should continue to conserve as much energy as possible. The United States should not encourage increased coal use without examining the full costs involved.

The Debate, Energy

Continued

Should the United States Build More Nuclear Power Plants?

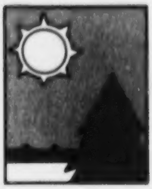
PRO

The country could find itself short of electricity in just ten years. Nuclear power can fill future energy needs the best. Nuclear energy is safe and clean. It does not pollute the air, and no one has ever been killed in a nuclear accident in the United States. While nuclear waste is dangerous, it poses little threat to the public when buried in leakproof containers thousands of feet underground. The United States runs on energy. It is foolish to ignore the potential of nuclear power.

CON

The problems with nuclear power are simply stated. First, nuclear reactors are expensive to build and have been plagued with cost overruns. Second, nuclear reactors are very complicated; a combination of breakdowns could occur and overwhelm a reactor's safety features. Third, nuclear wastes pose a serious hazard when being transported to burial sites. And fourth, there is the danger of nuclear wastes leaking into ground water, just as toxic wastes have done. These are risks that we cannot afford.

Environment



At one point in our nation's history, pollution was viewed as a sign of progress. Thick black smoke rising from a factory smokestack symbolized jobs and prosperity for a community. People accepted foul-smelling air or a polluted river as the price they paid for economic growth.

In time, that view changed. No longer a symbol of success, pollution became a threat and a burden. In the 1970s, Congress passed a variety of laws to control pollution. This legislation helped revive once-dead rivers and lakes, improve overall air quality, and save some species of animals from extinction. But serious problems remain. Toxic chemicals leak into the soil and poison underground water supplies. Thousands of tons of nuclear waste await permanent storage. Many cities do not meet the government's standards for air quality. And harmful chemicals are destroying the earth's ozone layer, which protects humans from cancer-causing ultraviolet rays of the sun.

The government could pass more laws and regulations to clean up the nation's air and water, just as it did in the 1970s, but such regulations would mean that polluting companies would have to spend billions of dollars to make their factories meet the new standards. These costs would then be passed on to consumers, meaning they will ultimately pay for the cleaner environment. Many policymakers wonder how much taxpayers will be willing to spend to clean up the environment. Others question whether the benefits of a healthier environment are worth the price that Americans must pay for it.

Key Questions

- **Should economic considerations take priority over environmental issues?**
- **Should the United States act to reduce acid rain?**
- **Should polluters pay the cost of environmental cleanup?**

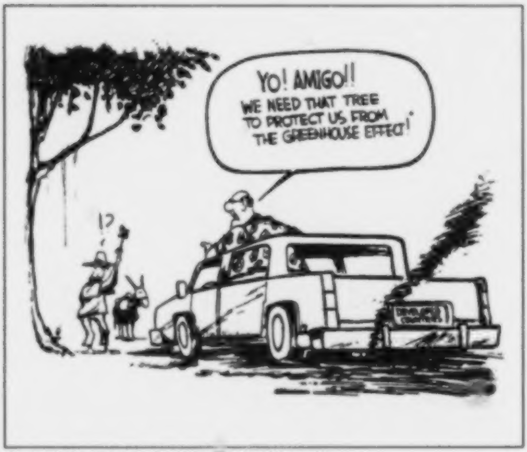
Background

Dangers to the Environment

Air Pollution. The air we breathe contains many pollutants, including soot and ash from burning coal and lead from gasoline. Low levels of dust, soot, and ash can cause breathing problems, especially for sufferers of chronic bronchitis and asthma. Less visible, but more dangerous, are gases of sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, and hydrocarbons. Too much carbon monoxide—emitted by cars—causes dizziness and nausea, impairs judgment, and places stress on the heart. Carbon dioxide is not immediately dangerous, but it poses a long-term threat. During the last 100 years, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen sharply, causing a "greenhouse effect." Carbon dioxide traps the sun's heat, thereby raising the temperature of earth's atmosphere.

The greenhouse effect could lead to serious environmental problems. According to scientists at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), temperatures just a few degrees higher than normal would melt polar ice caps and flood coastal areas, turn productive farmland into desert, and alter weather patterns around the world. Some scientists predict that world temperatures could increase from 4 to 9 degrees Fahrenheit by the middle of the next century. An Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) report claims that the greenhouse effect is irreversible.

Other greenhouse gases called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) also destroy the earth's ozone layer. Ozone is a gas that is distributed in a thin layer in the earth's atmosphere. Ozone shields the earth from the dangerous ultraviolet rays of the sun. Increased exposure to ultraviolet radiation weakens the human body's immune system, causes skin cancer and eye damage, and destroys crops.


YO! AMIGO!!
WE NEED THAT TREE TO PROTECT US FROM THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT!
!?

Reprinted with permission Scott Willis/San Jose Mercury News

CFCs are a family of chemicals that are often used in cleaning solvents and aerosol spray cans and as coolants in refrigerators and air conditioners. CFCs can exist in the atmosphere for as long as 100 years. The United States has taken some steps to control these chemicals. In 1978, the U.S. government outlawed CFC-propelled spray cans. Ten years later, it signed a United Nations agreement to reduce the use and production of CFCs in the United States.

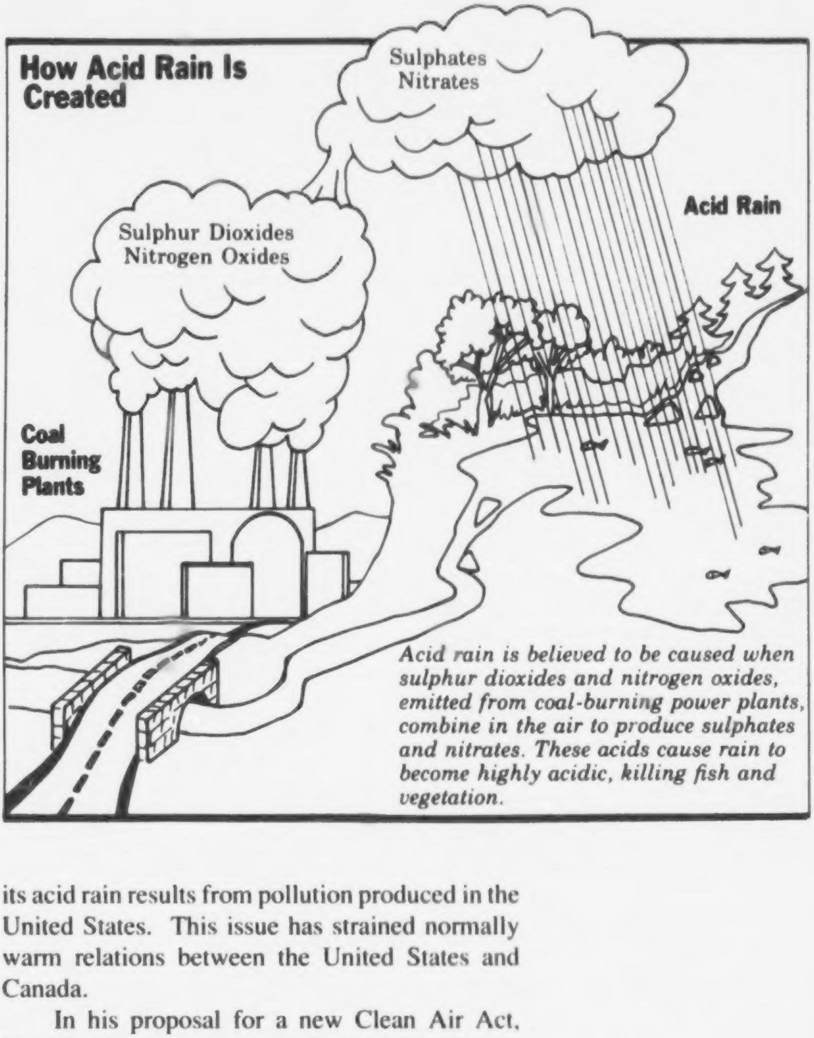
Controlling Air Pollution. The nation's principal air pollution control law, the Clean Air Act, was passed in 1970. The act set deadlines for a 90 percent reduction of certain pollutants from new automobiles and also established pollution controls for factories, oil refineries, smelters, iron foundries, and power plants. In addition, the EPA, created by President Nixon in 1970, was charged with setting air standards for the nation. The federal government authorized money to help states pay for their antipollution efforts.

In 1977, Congress established a new timetable for meeting the goals of the 1970 law. The auto industry has already met or exceeded most of those goals. However, EPA officials say that about 100 cities have still not met national standards for air quality.

In 1989, President George Bush proposed several revisions to the Clean Air Act including forcing automobile makers to further lower the exhaust pollutants of the cars that they produce. Car manufacturers predict that this proposal, if passed by Congress, will add at least $150 to the price of a new car. Bush's plan would also require car makers to produce one million cars capable of running on fuels other than gasoline by 1997. Congress is still considering the president's proposed changes to the Clean Air Act.

Acid Rain. The effects of air pollution are apparent in another form in the northeastern region of the United States and in Canada. In these areas, rainfall has become highly acidic. Although the causes of "acid rain" are in dispute, most scientists believe that acid rain is the result of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide (released by coal-burning power plants, factories, and automobiles) being transformed into sulfate and nitrate. When combined with moisture in the air, sulfates and nitrates become acids and fall to earth as acid rain. Acid rain increases the acidity of soil, streams, and lakes, making them less habitable for plants and animals. In Europe, where coal has long been a major source of energy, large forests have begun to wither, and hundreds of lakes in Scandinavia have become so acidic that they no longer support fish. Acid rain also damages buildings and bridges, forcing governments and private owners to accelerate plans for renovation or replacement of many of these structures.

Controlling Acid Rain. Acid rain has become an international issue. Emissions of sulfur from coal-burning plants in one country can travel across international borders, causing acid rain to fall in other countries. For example, Canada has protested to the U.S. government that a large share of



How Acid Rain Is Created

Acid rain is believed to be caused when sulphur dioxides and nitrogen oxides, emitted from coal-burning power plants, combine in the air to produce sulphates and nitrates. These acids cause rain to become highly acidic, killing fish and vegetation.

its acid rain results from pollution produced in the United States. This issue has strained normally warm relations between the United States and Canada.

In his proposal for a new Clean Air Act, President Bush recommended reducing the levels of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide in the air. He wants to cut America's emissions of nitrogen oxide by two million tons and sulphur dioxide by ten million tons by the year 2000. The country's biggest polluters, found mostly in the Midwest and Southeast, would pay for these reductions.

Water Pollution. The two major water pollutants are organic waste and chemical waste. Organic waste removes oxygen from the water, suffocating fish and producing bacteria that release noxious gases. Chemical waste—such as pesticides, acid residues, dyes, and some chemicals from factories—kills marine life outright.

During the 1960s, water pollution in the United States was severe. Industrial pollution accounted for some of the problem. Arsenic was found in the Kansas River. Mercury pollution halted fishing along the shores of Lake St. Clair on the Canadian border. Industrial pollution killed millions of fish in Lake Superior, and fishing and swimming were banned in Lake Erie. Organic waste also contributed to water pollution. In many cases, raw human sewage was being dumped untreated into lakes and streams.

Urban Runoff

Urban runoff, a relatively new environmental concern, occurs when pollutants—such as oil, bacteria, toxic metals, backyard pesticides, and fertilizers, are washed off the streets or flushed through sewer systems.

Controlling Water Pollution. In 1970, hundreds of industries and more than 1,400 communities were dumping untreated sewage into rivers. Although Congress had already taken some action to clean up the nation's rivers, the most effective legislation was the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972. This act set a national goal of making all waters safe for fish, wildlife, and people by 1985.

Congress later passed the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act, which authorized the EPA to set maximum levels for contaminants in drinking water systems, and the 1977 Clean Water Act, which amended the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. The government has spent billions of dollars to achieve the goals of the Clean Water Act.

In 1987, Congress approved a new Clean Water Act, which included $18 billion to help local governments build sewage-treatment plants and another $2 billion to clean up lakes, rivers, and estuaries.

Nuclear Waste. Many nuclear materials are highly toxic and take thousands of years to lose their radioactivity. The problem is how to safely dispose of nuclear waste. If liquid nuclear waste is buried in cans, the cans might someday leak radioactive material into the soil and the water table. Dumping nuclear waste containers in the ocean presents a similar problem. Although disposal technology is excellent and no one has yet been harmed by nuclear waste, there are no guarantees that it will never pollute the environment. Today, highly radioactive nuclear waste from weapons production remains in temporary storage awaiting the establishment of permanent nuclear waste depositories. In addition, radioactive spent fuel from nuclear power plant reactors is being stored temporarily in cooling pools at the plants.

Controlling Nuclear Waste. In December 1982, Congress passed legislation establishing a national plan for the disposal of highly radioactive nuclear waste. The law set up a timetable for establishing a permanent, underground repository for nuclear waste by the mid-1990s. In 1987, Congress named Yucca Mountain, Nevada, as the location for the nation's first permanent nuclear waste storage facility. The repository was scheduled to open in 1998, but Nevada's governor opposes the facility and has refused to give government scientists the permits needed to conduct safety tests on the site. Construction of the facility cannot begin until the federal government determines that Yucca Mountain is a safe place for nuclear waste. The federal government is suing to force Nevada to allow the repository. The Department of Energy now estimates that the facility cannot be opened before 2010.

Toxic Wastes. Toxic wastes are the poisonous or *carcinogenic* (cancer-causing) chemical compounds that remain after the production of chemi-

Improperly disposed toxic waste can poison the soil and underground water supplies. In 1980, Congress gave the EPA the job of finding and cleaning up thousands of toxic waste dump sites.

Environmental Protection Agency

cals, metals, and plastics. The United States generates at least 250 million tons of toxic waste each year.

Unlike nuclear wastes, some toxic wastes can be broken down into relatively safe substances by burning them or treating them chemically. But for many years, toxic chemicals were simply dumped into pits, ponds, and landfills. In some places, the chemicals soaked into the soil and filtered into the water table. In Niagara Falls, New York, a neighborhood called Love Canal was built over a toxic chemical dump. Many Love Canal residents—especially children—became ill. The government later bought their homes, and sections of the neighborhood were permanently closed.

Today, the EPA has strict rules for dumping toxic waste. For example, all toxic waste must be placed in licensed landfills that have lined bottoms to prevent chemicals from leaking into the soil. Toxic dumps must also have monitoring wells to check for leaks, and operators must carry enough insurance to pay for $6 million in cleanup costs every year. These last two requirements, which took effect in November 1985, put more than half the nation's toxic dump sites out of business. But thousands of old, illegal, and unknown toxic waste dumps still pose a threat to public health.

Controlling Toxic Wastes. Congress enacted the Toxic Substances Control Act in 1976, which gives the EPA the power to ban or regulate dangerous substances not covered by other regulatory safeguards and to test new chemicals and substances before they can be manufactured.

After the events at Love Canal, Congress created the Superfund program. Superfund was to be used to pay for the cleanup of hazardous waste sites and any future toxic chemical disasters. The company responsible for the disaster would eventually assume the costs, but Superfund would pay most of the initial cleanup costs.

In 1986, Congress allocated $6 billion to renew the Superfund program. At the same time, Congress set new standards for the removal of toxic wastes, required the EPA to start cleanup at 375 new dump sites by 1992, extended legal protection to victims of diseases caused by toxic wastes, and required chemical firms to report the release of cancer-causing substances into the environment. Today, more than a thousand toxic waste sites are on Superfund's cleanup priority list.

Will the Birds Still Sing?

In 1962, Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, a book condemning the widespread use of pesticides. Carson charged that pesticides were polluting the environment and could decimate the nation's wildlife. She warned of a "silent spring" in which no birds would be left to sing. Carson's book helped launch the environmental movement in the 1960s and led to tighter controls on pesticide use.

Pesticides. Pesticides kill certain insects and plants. But some pesticides have entered the food chain. After a pesticide is sprayed, it can remain potent for a long time, staying on the leaves of plants, washing into rivers and lakes, or seeping into groundwater. Some pesticides that animals ingest are absorbed into their tissues. Eventually, some of these chemicals reach humans through the food they eat. In 1989, many Americans stopped buying apples because some growers treated them with Alar, a growth regulator. A study had indicated that Alar could cause cancer, especially in children. The public outcry caused many apple growers to stop using Alar.

In some cases, pesticides are counterproductive. For example, high concentrations of DDT impair the reproductive functions of birds. When DDT usage peaked during the 1950s and 1960s, the number of birds in the environment suddenly decreased, which in turn, led to an increase in the number of harmful insects that would otherwise have been eaten by the birds.

The EPA has banned a number of pesticides, including DDT, that are believed to be harmful to the environment. However, many other countries continue to use them, and food imported into the United States sometimes contains traces of hazardous chemicals.

Controlling Pesticides. The registration and use of pesticides are regulated by the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA). The EPA evaluates the potential health risk of the more than 600 pesticides currently used by the food industry to protect dairy products, meats, vegetables, and fruits from disease, mold, and insects. But the evaluation process used by the EPA is cumbersome—since 1972 the EPA has reviewed only a fraction of the pesticides submitted for approval.

DANGER
PESTICIDE CONTAINER
DISPOSAL SITE
IMPERIAL COUNTY
KEEP OUT

Environmental Protection Agency

Farmers and ranchers in the United States use more than six hundred different pesticides and other chemicals to control disease, fungus, and insects. The effects that many of these chemicals have on people are not known. To date, the EPA has reviewed only a fraction of them to determine the health risk to humans.

Solid Waste. Each year, Americans produce more garbage per person than any other nation in the world. Of the 250 million tons of American rubbish, industry produces about 90 million tons, commerce about 60 million tons, and each family more than one ton every year. Most of this solid waste is buried in landfills. While the amount of garbage is increasing, landfill space is decreasing. Since 1980, more than 3,000 landfills have been closed because they contaminate water supplies or do not meet government standards. Thus, some cities must find alternatives to burying their garbage. Some have already run out of landfill space and are forced to ship their garbage to other communities. Other cities burn their waste in incinera-

Close Up Foundation

Many communities are facing a shortage of solid waste dumps. Landfills are filling up or closing down because they are polluting the water supply. Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey expect to run out of landfill space soon.

tors to generate energy. However, incinerators may also pollute the air and produce hazardous ash, which then must be buried in landfills. Some communities have started recycling programs for glass, aluminum, newspapers, and some plastics to reduce the amount of solid waste. The EPA has set a national goal of recycling 25 percent of household trash by 1992. Although some experts view recycling as a promising alternative to landfills, it is often costly to collect, sort, and recycle waste.

Controlling Solid Waste. Garbage disposal has traditionally been a local concern, but in 1980, Congress passed the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, which banned the disposal of hazardous industrial wastes in city dumps. Before 1980, industries routinely dumped their hazardous wastes in city landfills. As a result, these city dumps now account for one-fifth of the government's priority cleanup sites under the Superfund program. In 1984, the federal government began to control the disposal of hazardous household wastes such as mercury from batteries, lead from newspaper ink, and arsenic from wood preservatives and household pesticides. Landfills and incinerators must now meet federal safety and pollution standards to stay open.

Current Issues

Balancing Environmental and Cost Factors. Most environmental issues today are conflicts between two schools of thought. One school argues that our nation's natural resources should be strictly protected because even small changes in our ecological system could have serious consequences for future generations. The other school of thought contends that, while protecting the environment is worthwhile, the cost of such efforts should be weighed against the benefits. The conflict lies in determining what level of pollution is acceptable and whether the cost of maintaining that level is affordable.

Congress has struggled with the problem of balancing environmental controls against their costs since 1970. Environmental controls cost money, which industry and consumers must pay. Those who support environmental controls say that expected improvements in technology will eventually reduce the cost of hazard detection and control. Furthermore, antipollution standards have created a market for pollution control equipment. Thousands of people now work for companies that produce or operate such equipment. Advocates of strict pollution standards say that such standards save billions of dollars annually in economic and health benefits by preventing environmental damage and human disease. They claim that the benefits of environmental protection far outweigh the costs to industries and consumers.

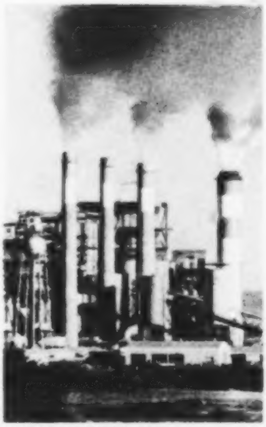
However, other lawmakers oppose laws to protect the environment. They maintain that it is unrealistic to try to eliminate all the risks in the

The Garbage Crisis

According to the Environmental Protection Agency, each American discards sixty-nine more pounds of garbage each year than he or she did in 1980.

environment and that this is the price Americans pay for living in a technologically advanced society. New antipollution equipment usually costs millions of dollars to install, reducing the amount of money available for improving the productivity of factories. Critics of antipollution legislation say that the government should carefully weigh the cost of its environmental laws against potential benefits before new antipollution legislation is passed.

Acid Rain. The issue of acid rain illustrates the difficulty of balancing environmental standards with economic costs. President Bush recommends that sulfur emissions be reduced by 50 percent to prevent serious environmental damage from acid rain. To achieve this standard, coal-burning power plants and factories would have to install expensive antipollution equipment—called scrubbers—on their older smokestacks. (Federal laws already require such equipment on all new power plants and factories.) Or power plants could choose to buy low-sulfur coal, mined in the western United States, instead of the high-sulfur coal mined in the East.



EPA DOCUMERICA/Boyd Norton

The air we breathe contains many pollutants—including soot, particles of ash from burning coal, lead from gasoline, and gases such as carbon monoxide. Since the early 1970s, Congress has passed a series of laws to reduce air pollution.

The issue is controversial. Utilities and other coal-burning interests argue that installing scrubbers would cost billions of dollars. Those costs, normally passed on to consumers, could increase utility bills significantly in some states. Moreover, cutting sulfur emissions could create other serious economic costs such as the loss of jobs in heavy industries and high-sulfur coal mining. The coal industry argues that less-expensive alternatives, such as dumping lime into lakes to make them less acidic, should be considered. They also recommend further research to determine the exact causes of acid rain and inexpensive ways to combat it.

Environmentalists dispute the argument that economic costs outweigh environmental benefits of reducing sulfur emissions. They say environmental costs are high, affecting human health, forests, lakes, and wildlife. Moreover, pollution from the United States harms Canada's timber industry and wilderness areas, causing diplomatic problems between the two nations.

Toxic Waste. Almost everyone agrees that toxic waste sites must be located and cleaned up. But who should pay the cost of cleaning up the waste, and who should compensate the people whose homes are contaminated by toxic wastes?

The 1980 Superfund legislation proposes that dumpers pay for the cleanup, but that until they begin work, the EPA should start the cleanup using monies collected through a special tax on oil and chemical companies. The Superfund law also gave people a longer time to sue the manufacturers who created toxic waste hazards. Previously, people who believed they were harmed by the wastes were often unable to sue because their illnesses developed after time limits set by state laws had expired.

Supporters of Superfund agree that those who created the hazard should be forced to pay. However, finding the guilty parties is not always easy. Many toxic waste sites are more than twenty years old, and records about what was dumped or who deposited the wastes may not exist. In addition, some companies that dumped pollutants years ago are no longer in business. As a result, the government cannot recoup its expenses for the cleanup, and injured persons cannot sue a company they cannot identify. Who, then, should pay the costs? One proposal is to use general tax dollars to pay for both cleanup and victim compensation. Another proposal is to enlarge the Superfund by increasing taxes on manufacturers.

Outlook

Great strides have been made during the last twenty years, but the United States still has serious environmental problems, especially with toxic waste, acid rain, and air pollution. The questions facing today's policymakers are how much environmental regulation can the economy afford and who will pay for it. Some say that regulations are needed and that if Americans do not pay the cost now, they will pay later in higher medical bills and shorter lives. Others claim strict laws could force some companies to go out of business because the cost of antipollution equipment is too high. Congress and the American people will have to balance the monetary costs against the benefits of a clean environment.

The Debate Environment

Should Economic Considerations Take Priority over Environmental Issues?

PRO

While a clean environment is important, excessive regulations hurt the economy. The United States must provide jobs, expand industry, and compete with foreign businesses that are not constrained by tough regulations. The cost of meeting environmental standards and completing the paperwork is too high.

CON

Environmental regulations have improved the air and water quality without ruining the economy. In fact, the antipollution industry has created jobs. Without regulations, the cost in health and economic losses would far surpass the cost of enforcement.

Should the United States Act to Reduce Acid Rain?

PRO

Acid rain is destroying forests and lakes in the northeastern United States and in Canada. The increased damage to buildings and bridges is expensive to repair. We should cooperate with Canada, whose timber industry is threatened by pollution generated in the United States, to reduce acid rain. It is the price Americans must pay for having a sound environment.

CON

The causes of acid rain are not fully understood. Proposals to reduce acid rain are far more expensive than repairing the damage caused by acid rain. Americans cannot afford higher utility rates, and the United States should not decrease its use of a domestic source of energy—coal—to reduce acid rain. The government should study the problem more before committing billions of dollars to programs that may not work.

Should Polluters Pay the Cost of Environmental Cleanup?

PRO

The American taxpayer should not have to pay for the mistakes of polluters. The government cannot allow industries to pollute the environment without penalty. Proper cleanup of environmental hazards is one of the costs of doing business and not a cost that can be passed along to the public through higher taxes or health risks.

CON

One way or another, the cost of cleaning up the environment will fall on American citizens. Companies will either pass on the expense to consumers through higher prices, or they will go out of business, leaving the government to pay. The government is the best and most reliable agent to clean up the environment.

Agriculture

During the 1970s, many U.S. farmers went into debt to expand their operations so they could meet a projected increase in the world's demand for food. They hoped that increased demand would lead to higher prices and additional income. However, the increased demand never came. Farmers were left with produce they could not sell. Prices for crops and livestock fell, reducing farm income. And high interest rates added to the farmer's woe, forcing many of them to use much of their income to repay their loans.

Since the Great Depression, the U.S. government has tried to protect America's farmers from economic ruin brought on by sudden price changes and natural disasters. The federal government now spends about $13 billion a year on agricultural programs. The government loans farmers money, pays them subsidies when prices drop below a guaranteed level, and pays them not to farm some of their land to reduce production. In addition, the government provides funds to help farmers during difficult times. For example, Congress paid billions of dollars to farmers who lost crops because of droughts in 1988 and 1989. Yet even with government help, hundreds of thousands of farmers went out of business in the 1980s because of financial difficulties.

Government aid to farmers has not reduced food prices and encourages farmers to produce more than they can sell. For these reasons, some policymakers question whether the federal government should continue helping U.S. farmers. Lawmakers will be challenged to weigh the costs of the nation's farm programs against the benefits of helping American farms to remain profitable.

Key Questions

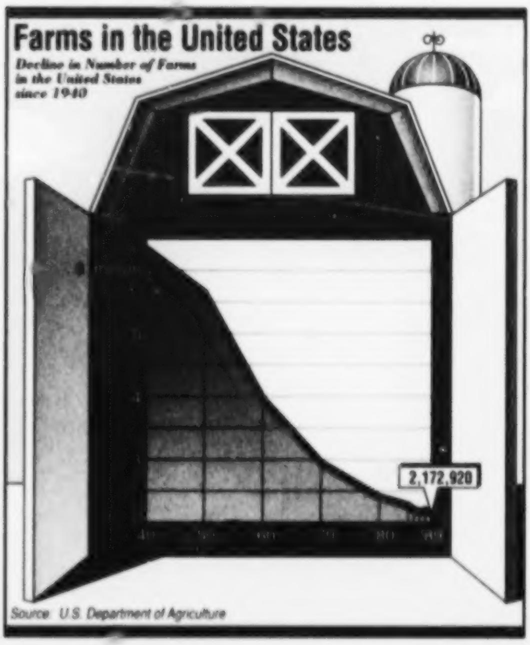
- Should the federal government end payments to farmers?
- Should the government help family farms stay profitable?
- Should the government help U.S. farmers compete in the international market?

Background

The Farm Industry

The Crisis of the Family Farm. The United States has lost thousands of farms in the last fifty years as small family farms were absorbed into larger corporate-owned farms. The federal government estimates that by the year 2000, the number of farms will decrease to 1.2 million from 2.17 million in 1987. Today, about 2.1 million farmers (about 1 percent of the total population) still work the land. The Census Bureau reports that today's farm population is the lowest since the 1860s. Most of America's farmers work part-time at farming and earn most of their incomes doing other jobs. Many people are leaving the farm because of dramatic increases in the cost of pro-

Due to increasing costs, declining profits, and devastating droughts, the number of farms in the United States is falling. When the nation was founded more than 200 years ago, about 90 percent of the people in the United States were farmers. Today, less than one percent of all Americans are farmers.



Farms in the United States

Decline in Number of Farms in the United States since 1940

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

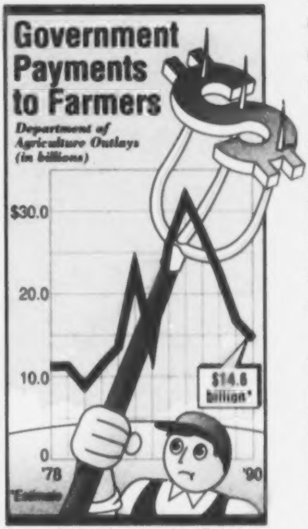
When crop prices fell and interest rates rose in the 1980s, many farmers were unable to repay their loans. Those who went out of business often had their farms and equipment auctioned to pay their debts.

duction (i.e., equipment, fertilizer, and seed), inflated land values, and a relative decline in the prices farmers receive for their produce. The average age of the American farmer is now over fifty; therefore, many people wonder where the next generation of farmers will come from. Young people are reluctant to start a farming operation because of the great expense.

In the past few years, more and more family farms have gone bankrupt, primarily because farmers must borrow large sums of money to operate. Then, after selling their produce, they must repay their loans. Low crop prices and high interest rates combine to force farmers to use a larger portion of their crops just to repay their loans. During the late 1970s, many farmers went deeply into debt to expand their operations so that they could meet the large demands being predicted for food exports. However, when the demand did not materialize, many of these indebted farmers found themselves in great financial jeopardy. According to the United States Department of Agriculture, as many as 300,000 farmers may have left the business from 1980 to 1988 because of financial difficulties.

Corporate Farms. The traditional family farm is losing ground to large corporate-owned farms as economic pressures have forced small farmers out of business. Today, some 7,000 U.S. farms are owned by corporations. These corporations are owned by stockholders or by even larger corporations, such as food processors or suppliers.

Corporate farms have several advantages over smaller family farms. Being large, they are often more efficient because they can grow crops or feed livestock at a fraction of the cost to small family farms. Corporations also have vast financial resources and tax advantages because of their corporate status.



Source: Office of Management and Budget

Most of the money Congress appropriates for agriculture goes to income support programs for farmers. A small portion goes toward research programs, including those designed to develop new theories on human nutrition.

The Role of the Government. During the Great Depression of the 1930s when thousands of farmers went bankrupt, the federal government protected farmers from sudden price changes and natural disasters and stabilized food prices for consumers. Today many government programs benefit farmers. The government provides crop insurance and helps farmers learn new techniques. But the most significant programs stabilize farm income by setting target prices, guaranteeing loans, and paying farmers to keep land out of production. The cost to the government has been high. The Department of Agriculture distributed a record $26 billion to farmers in 1986 alone. And, in following years, agricultural subsidies have averaged between $10 and $15 billion.

Target Prices. Under the target-price program, the government sets a minimum—or *target*—price that farmers will get for their products. The target price is set on a level below the expected market price. If the market price dips below the target price, the government pays farmers the difference.

The basis on which the government determines target prices is controversial. Many farmers want the government to determine the target price using the concept of *parity*—the price at which a certain amount of a crop will buy the same amount of goods and services as it did in 1910-14, the period considered the "golden age" of American agriculture. Farm groups often call for target prices set at 100 percent of parity.

Loans as Price Supports. Loans serve as a kind of price support. Using their future crops as collateral, farmers can borrow money from the Department of Agriculture to pay for seed, fertilizer, implements, or other farm materials. Farmers repay these loans from the sale of their crops after harvest. However, if the price of their crops drops below a minimum level set by the Department of Agriculture, farmers simply give the government their harvests as payment for their loans.

Set-asides. Set-asides are part of a government program that pays farmers not to farm some of their land. Taking land out of production decreases supply and helps curb the surpluses that price supports can cause. But set-asides only limit the number of acres used, not the amount grown on each acre. Supplies often increase despite set-asides because farmers have learned to produce greater yields on fewer acres.

American Agriculture Today. Since 1986, the financial health of some American farmers has improved. As their incomes rose, some farmers were able to reduce their debts. By 1989, total farm debt had dropped to $140 billion from $193 billion in 1983. However, many farmers whose incomes fell because of drought in 1988 and 1989 were unable to reduce their debts. In addition, some economists claim many farms are still too far in debt to survive. They say that the crisis in American agriculture will be over only when farmers no longer have to depend on federal subsidies.

Pesticides in Farming

Each year American farmers use 430 million pounds of pesticides and chemicals to control disease, fungus, and insects. Recently, Americans have become concerned about the effects of pesticides on the environment and on human health. Today, more farmers are decreasing or eliminating their use of pesticides, and the federal government has increased its research budget for pesticide-free farming to almost $4.5 million.

Challenges Facing American Farmers

Global Competition. For many years American farmers were the leaders in the world agricultural market. This is no longer true. Despite increases in U.S. farm exports since 1986, American farmers still face stiff competition from farmers in Western Europe and South America who have taken a large share of the world market. In Western Europe some farm products are able to beat American prices because of high government subsidies in Europe. And in South America, where land prices and labor costs are lower than in the United States and Europe, farmers have been able to grow food at lower costs.

Overproduction. American farmers still produce huge amounts of food, resulting in large surpluses of a variety of goods. One reason for these surpluses is the increased land that farmers put into production during the 1970s. A second reason is price supports, which encourage more production because farmers are guaranteed a minimum price for their product. A third reason is that farmers cannot be sure that the price paid for their crops will be enough to cover the costs of production;

Modern farming is a heavily mechanized, highly specialized industry. After figuring in the costs for seed, fertilizer, equipment, and personnel, the initial investment can cost a new farmer hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Department of Agriculture

therefore, they produce as much as they can in hopes of paying back their outstanding debts.

Soil Erosion. Farmers must constantly battle erosion of vital topsoil—surface soil rich in organic matter. Without good topsoil farmers must invest large sums of money in chemical fertilizers. After declining for decades, soil erosion rates have recently been rising.

Several factors contribute to the loss of topsoil. Ironically, the most significant factor may be improvements in fertilizers, pesticides, seed, and farm equipment. These improvements helped farmers bring more land into production, rather than allowing it to rest periodically and regain nutrients naturally. The rapid growth of farm acreage during the 1970s also affected soil erosion because many farmers cut down trees, which served as windbreaks to help control erosion.

Since the dust bowl days of the 1930s, the government has sponsored a number of programs to encourage soil conservation. Under soil conservation provisions of the 1985 Farm Bill, the government now has the power to penalize farmers who do not practice good soil management. The government can now limit federal farm price supports and other benefits to farmers who plow fragile land or drain wetlands for crop production.

Water. Water remains a major concern to farmers, especially in the West. Much of the country west of the Missouri River receives little rain. Once described as the Great American Desert, this region—through irrigation—now includes some of the nation's most productive farm land. However, water shortages often threaten the prosperity of the West.

Farmers on the Great Plains irrigate their crops with water from a large underground source, or *aquifer*. But if they continue to use the aquifer

Subsidized Water

The federal government pays part of the cost to irrigate 10 million acres of American farmland. In the West, more than 25 percent of the water used for irrigation comes from the government's subsidy programs. These programs can be expensive. For example, in California's Westlands Water District, the government provides water for $17 per acre-foot, although the actual cost is $42 per acre-foot. The government's General Accounting Office estimates that irrigating a 960-acre farm in the area would normally cost $109,000. If the farmer used subsidized water, his or her irrigation bill would drop to about $43,000.

at current rates, experts say, it could dry up completely in twenty to thirty years.

Farther west, farmers use water from streams and rivers to irrigate crops. But growing urban areas compete with farms for water. During the 1970s, the city of Denver built huge tunnels through mountains to divert water from the western to the eastern slopes of the Colorado Rockies to ensure that the city would have enough water for residents. Although Denver received permission from both state and federal officials, the diversion still angers farmers and ranchers in the western part of the state who now receive less water. In Arizona, the cities of Phoenix and Tucson compete with farmers in southern California for water from the Colorado River. Like Denver, Phoenix and Tucson have had a building boom but do not have adequate water supplies for their new residents and businesses. California farmers have fiercely opposed Arizona's attempt to complete the Central Arizona (water diversion) Project. Farmers complain that the Colorado River is already overused. Except during unusual floods, the Colorado no longer reaches its natural mouth in the Gulf of California. City officials counter by saying that farmers waste too much water when they irrigate.

Department of Agriculture/Doug Wilson

In the past several years, the government has received millions of tons of corn, wheat, and dairy products as payment for farm loans. Storing the crops is often a problem.

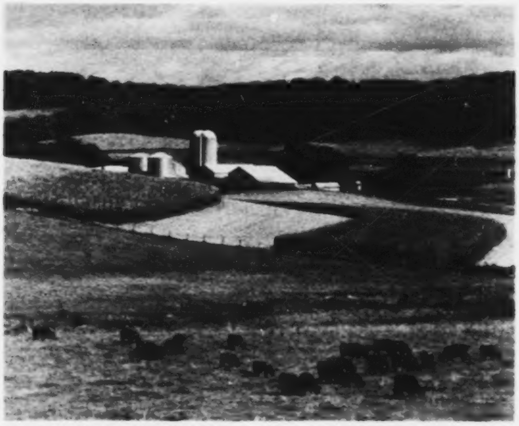
Current Issues

Price Supports. Some people have called for an end to the price-support system that has been in effect for more than fifty years. They argue that the system is too expensive, especially in light of the government's huge budget deficit. They also complain that price supports encourage overproduction—leaving the government and farmers with products that cannot be sold. As a result, government programs often fail to raise farm incomes. Other critics say that price-support programs subsidize highly vocal special-interest groups, including tobacco growers and dairy farmers. Independent economic researchers have pointed out that the current price-support system will not save many small- to medium-sized farmers from bankruptcy because most crop subsidies go to large, successful commercial farms.

Some experts believe that the government should not interfere in any marketplace, including agriculture. Supporters of this view argue that eliminating the government's presence in agriculture and leaving the fate of farmers to the free market would weed out inefficient farmers, leaving a tough, lean farm industry more capable of competing in the world market.

Farmers argue that an abrupt end to price supports would be unfair because many farmers have long relied on the existing government system. They note that even though price supports may have caused farmers to overproduce, the food reserve that has been created protects consumers against price increases caused by droughts, freezes, insect infestations, and other disasters.

Family Farms. Some economists argue that small family-operated farms make no economic



Department of Agriculture/Tim McCabe

Traditional family farms are losing ground to giant corporate-owned farms as economic pressures force more and more small farmers out of business. The government estimates that as many as 300,000 farmers went out of business from 1980 to 1988.

sense because large corporate farms are more efficient. However, supporters of family farms point out that thousands of independent farmers are now operating large, efficient, and often incorporated farms. Furthermore, many of the farmers who could go bankrupt without federal assistance are efficient farmers who were in the process of building up to the corporate farm level when interest rates soared and land prices decreased. Advocates for the family farm argue that these farmers could succeed if given a chance. However, according to farm lobbyists, if government support for farming is cut, any hope of saving most traditional family farms would be lost.

Department of Agriculture/William E. Carnahan

Many government subsidy programs designed to increase the American farmer's income have also caused food prices to rise in the last several years. Some consumers say that they are subsidizing farmers both in taxes and at the supermarket. Farmers counter by saying that Americans spend a smaller percentage of their incomes for food than consumers in nearly every other industrialized country.

Making American Agriculture Competitive. American farmers claim that the world agricultural market is not a free market because it includes foreign competitors whose products are subsidized by their governments. Foreign farmers are able to sell their products for less than their American counterparts, which leaves U.S. farmers with unsold crops and lower incomes. American farmers claim that unless the U.S. government subsidizes their produce, they will not be able to compete in the international market and will go out of business. They say that if they go bankrupt and foreign producers have no competition from U.S. farmers, the low prices American consumers now enjoy for imported food would disappear. The government can also make U.S. agricultural products more competitive by intervening in the currency markets to lower the value of the dollar. A lower dollar makes American goods less expensive in other countries.

Those who oppose government intervention believe that price supports encourage overproduction. They say that government aid has made the farm industry dependent on the government instead of becoming more efficient. Opponents of government aid say that if the government ended subsidy programs, farmers would have to learn to be more efficient. Inefficient farmers would have to sell their land to more efficient corporate farms that could produce at lower costs. These large farms could compete with farmers in other countries, and American consumers would enjoy lower food prices as corporate farmers passed on their savings. Critics of government subsidies say that the current programs raise the price of food for consumers. They claim that consumers are actually subsidizing farmers twice: once in taxes to pay for farm price supports and again at the supermarket in higher prices for food from subsidized farms that are inefficient. Consumer advocates point out that in unsubsidized farm industries, such as the poultry industry, prices have decreased, while prices have risen in subsidized industries such as the dairy industry. According to some estimates, government protection and handouts to farmers cost consumers $10 billion in higher prices each year. They also claim that government subsidies have caused farmers to produce too much food, some of which may never be used.

Living and Working on the Farm

According to the Census Bureau, about 55 percent of people who live on American farms work primarily in nonfarm jobs. Nearly 59 percent of the men who live on farms work in farm-related jobs. For women, only 24 percent work on the farm.

Outlook

American farmers faced tough times for much of the 1980s. Low prices, high interest rates, and crop losses from droughts have forced many farmers into bankruptcy. Government aid has helped many farmers to survive and has even brought about an agricultural recovery in some farm industries. However, some experts fear that the agricultural industry is too dependent on the federal government. They claim that government subsidies are too expensive, cause overproduction, and raise food prices. Policymakers need to decide if it is worthwhile to continue subsidizing American agriculture.

The Debate Agriculture

Should the Federal Government End Payments to Farmers?

PRO

Federal farm subsidies cost the government billions of dollars. Along with the tremendous drain on the Treasury, the subsidies have failed. They encourage overproduction and discourage cost controls. By ending federal payments, the free market will weed out inefficient farmers, leaving a lean, tough, and efficient farm industry.

CON

It is wrong to say that ending federal payments will weed out only the inefficient farmers—they were wiped out during the farm crisis of the 1980s. Current farm problems threaten to bankrupt some of America's most innovative farmers. Federal payments are needed to protect farms from severe crop failures and unfair foreign competition.

Should the Government Help Family Farms Stay Profitable?

PRO

The government created the farm crisis, and it is up to the government to solve it. Many family farmers were in the process of expanding their farms when interest rates increased and land prices decreased. These farmers could succeed if given a chance. If the government does not help these farmers, they may go out of business, causing an economic collapse in rural America as farmers and residents of small towns are forced to move to cities.

CON

It is time for the farmers of the United States to stop relying on the federal government to bail them out every time they get into trouble. The government cannot be held responsible for farmers' mistakes. Like other business owners, farmers must learn how to manage their businesses successfully. If today's farmers want to remain in business, they either must improve or abandon their farms in favor of more efficient corporate ones.

Should the Government Help U.S. Farmers Compete in the International Market?

PRO

American farmers have been handicapped in the international market. For instance, many nations now subsidize their agricultural industries to the point that their products are cheaper than ours. Only the federal government can equalize the competition. The government should continue to subsidize U.S. farmers and introduce measures that will lower the value of the dollar overseas, thereby making U.S. products more affordable.

CON

Government aid to farmers encourages overproduction. U.S. farmers have to realize that they need to make sacrifices to improve efficiency, lower production costs, and make their agricultural products more competitive on the world market. An end to government aid will weed out the inefficient farmers and force others to enlarge and incorporate their farms to make them more efficient.

Crime

Theft and violent crime affect millions of Americans each year. A Department of Justice study estimates that 89 percent of American men and 73 percent of American women will be victims or intended victims of violent crimes, including assault and rape, at least once in their lives.

The causes of crime are difficult to pinpoint. Some people believe that unemployment and poverty breed crime. Others say that increased drug use is the major reason for today's high crime rate.

Frightened by crime and shocked by the recent epidemic of drug-related offenses, the public is demanding that the police and the courts get tough with criminals. Larger and better-armed police forces are making more arrests, and judges are sentencing criminals to longer prison terms.

But tougher enforcement and punishment have overwhelmed the nation's prison system. Today, the U.S. prison population is growing by 800 inmates each week. Prisons are so overcrowded in some states that judges have ordered early releases for many of the inmates. Until new facilities can be built, there is nowhere to house these prisoners. Thus, a cycle has been created in which criminals receive stiff sentences, go to overcrowded prisons, and then return to the streets before their sentences are up only to commit more crimes.

Some experts think that lowering the nation's crime rate will be difficult. Courts are often hindered in convicting criminals because of laws protecting the rights of suspects. Others claim that although the justice system works, the government is not solving the problems of drug addiction, poverty, and unemployment, which lead to crime.

Key Questions

- **Should the government spend money on law enforcement, rather than on education and social programs, to end illegal drug use?**
- **Should handguns be registered?**
- **Should criminal justice officials end parole?**
- **Should the United States allow the death penalty?**

Background

Crime in America. Crime affects a large segment of the population, touching nearly 25 percent of American households each year. According to Bureau of Justice statistics, 35.8 million criminal offenses occurred in 1988. Contrary to popular belief, the typical victims of violent crime tend to be young—not old, and men—not women. Government studies show that crime rates are highest for Americans under twenty-five. In addition, crime does not discriminate against economic status. Household crimes—such as burglary—are more likely to occur in homes with annual incomes of less than $10,000.

Family violence—crimes such as wife beating, child abuse, abuse of the elderly, and child molestation—has long been common, but often goes unreported. Many victims of such crimes refuse to press charges either because they do not want to send a family member to jail or because they fear reprisal. Furthermore, police will often not make an arrest for wife beating because the crime is believed to be a more appropriate matter for family counselors than for the judicial system. But a Department of Justice study concluded that the arrest of a violent family member rarely results in reprisal against the victim and often improves the situation. Often the mere shock of arrest has a sobering effect on the violent member of the family.

What Causes Crime? Experts are uncertain about what causes most crime, but they cite many factors. High on the list are poverty and unemployment. Unemployed people are more likely to be depressed and frustrated and therefore more apt to commit violent or antisocial acts. This is especially true in poor urban areas, where homicide is often the leading cause of death among young

Library of Congress

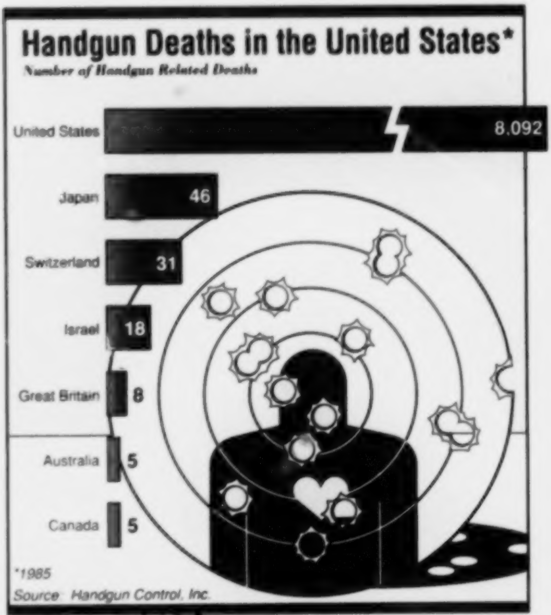
Some experts say that one reason for the high crime rate in the United States is that many people believe that crime does pay. Few criminals ever get caught, and many are able to bargain for lesser penalties. Others get released early for "good behavior" or to relieve prison overcrowding.

black men. Also high on the list of causes of crime is the increased use of illegal drugs. More than 40 percent of the people sent to federal prisons were involved in drug-related crimes. Other social factors also contribute to crime. For example, an unstable home life and an absence of affection can foster drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and crime by young people. However, researchers argue that social factors alone cannot explain why, under similar circumstances, one person commits a crime while another does not.

Career Criminals. Career criminals commit the majority of crimes. Recent studies show that about 63 percent of freed prisoners are jailed again within three years. Career criminals are also responsible for most serious crimes, including burglary, theft, and robbery. In addition, members of organized crime and youth gangs commit a large percentage of violent crimes—assaults, murders, and armed robberies. One aspect of organized crime—drug trafficking—is linked to a large proportion of murders.

Another significant factor in the high rate of crime in the United States could be that many criminals believe that crime pays. For some criminals, the profits gained from their activities, especially drug trafficking, far outweigh the wages they could earn in most entry-level jobs. Many people involved in illegal activities never get caught. Furthermore, since court schedules and prisons are overcrowded, criminals can usually bargain for lesser penalties by pleading guilty. Many criminals feel confident that they can escape arrest, and if caught, will not have to serve much time in prison.

Availability of Weapons. Crime experts cite the availability of guns and the growing willingness of people to use them as major factors in the high crime rate. Federal law requires gun buyers to present identification and to sign a statement that they are not convicted felons or drug addicts and do not have a history of mental illness. And



*1985
Source: Handgun Control, Inc.

The number of deaths from handguns in the United States is higher than any of its industrialized allies. Some experts attribute this high rate to the fact that handguns are readily available to almost anyone who wishes to buy one. Some communities—such as Washington, D.C.—have banned the sale of guns within city or county limits.

many state and local governments have added even tougher restrictions to the federal law. However, criminals often evade these regulations. For example, Washington, D.C., has one of the toughest gun control laws in the country, forbidding the sale of guns or their import into the city. Yet residents of Washington—whether criminals or law-abiding citizens—have found ways to get guns, purchasing them elsewhere or through illegal means.

Americans own 60 million handguns, ranging from small inexpensive weapons called "Saturday Night Specials" to powerful and costly semiautomatics. Each year, 33,000 people die from injuries caused by handguns. Congress has taken steps to ban the import of both the Saturday Night Specials and the rapid-fire semiautomatics that have become the favorites of drug dealers, although loopholes in the laws make total import bans difficult. Some states and local governments are also restricting the sale of military-style "assault rifles."

The Cost of Crime. The cost of crime is high. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that losses from commercial robberies, shoplifting, and store, office, and warehouse burglaries surpassed $2.8 billion in 1987. Losses from personal and household crimes are even higher. The economic effects of crime also include costly medical care, increased police protection, increased insurance premiums, and lost productivity resulting from a victim's absence from work.

Legal Rights for Suspected Criminals. The Bill of Rights guarantees that the government will treat persons accused of crimes fairly. Among these rights are the following:

- the Fourth Amendment, which protects persons from unreasonable searches and seizures

Since 1987, new guidelines have limited the discretion federal judges can take in imposing sentences on convicted criminals. The guidelines stipulate a minimum and maximum sentence for more than forty-three different categories of crimes.

AP/Wide World Photos

- the Fifth Amendment, which protects suspects from being compelled to testify against themselves
- the Sixth Amendment, which guarantees the right to a speedy trial with a jury and the right to an attorney
- the Eighth Amendment, which forbids excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment

To enforce these protections, the Supreme Court devised some strict rules that sometimes result in criminals going free.

The Exclusionary Rule. The Fourth Amendment protects citizens from arbitrary intrusions on their privacy and from harassment by public officials. Before a police officer can search a place or a person, the officer must first present to a judge specific justification for a search (such as evidence that a crime has been committed and that the search could turn up useful information). The officer must also produce a list of items to be seized, with their location. Based on this information, the judge can issue a warrant, which permits a search but limits it to those places listed. Police do not need warrants in situations that demand swift action. Courts have found that the only effective way to enforce the Fourth Amendment is to exclude any illegally seized evidence from trials. Excluding such evidence sometimes results in the failure to convict a suspect—or even in the dismissal of charges—for lack of proof.

However, in 1984 the Supreme Court allowed two exceptions to the exclusionary rule. The first exception allows evidence from an illegal search to be used in court if the police officers had a warrant, believed they were acting legally, and later found that some "technical" flaw made their search illegal. The second exception allows illegally seized evidence to be used if the prosecuting lawyer can show that the evidence would eventually have been discovered by legal means.

The Miranda *Ruling*. Both the Fifth and the Sixth Amendments apply at the time of arrest. For many years, some police departments routinely questioned suspects for extended periods of time without having an attorney present. However, in 1966, the Supreme Court issued guidelines to protect criminal suspects from such abuses. In the case of *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, the Court ruled that suspects must be read their legal rights before being questioned. The rights include the right to remain silent and the right to a lawyer. If the police do not inform defendants of their rights, any evidence gained from questioning cannot be used in court.

Fighting the War on Drugs

A recent NBC news poll found that 51 percent of all Americans would prefer the government spend more money on education programs to fight drug abuse, while 43 percent said that they would rather spend more money on law enforcement. Fifty-three percent said that they would be willing to pay higher income taxes to finance the war on drugs.

Current Issues

The War on Drugs. According to a Justice Department study, the number of people convicted of drug-related crimes has increased more than 160 percent since 1980. Drug-related offenses including possession and trafficking were the fastest growing crime category in the study.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

The annual survey of the National Institute on Drug Abuse reported an overall decline in illegal drug use since 1979. However, the data indicate that today's drug users are using larger quantities and more frequently than addicts in the past. The federal government spends $1.6 billion a year providing treatment programs to help users overcome their addictions.

Today, 43 percent of people sent to federal prisons have been convicted of possessing or selling illegal drugs. And experts suspect that many inmates who are now serving time for drug-related offenses committed their crimes either under the influence of illegal drugs or to obtain money to buy drugs.

Ending illegal drug use has become a high priority in the United States. In a recent poll, most Americans named drug abuse as the nation's most important problem. Drug abuse also costs Americans billions of dollars in drug-related medical expenses. One study estimates that on-the-job drug use costs U.S. companies $60 billion a year in lost productivity and accidents.

In recent years, the federal government has increased funding to fight what President Bush calls the "war on drugs." Government spending for law enforcement, treatment, and education programs to combat illegal drug use have increased from $1.4 billion in 1981 to $9.7 billion today. Although members of Congress agree that

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illegal drugs are a problem, they disagree on how the government should spend its money to solve it.

Some policymakers believe that the government should focus on limiting the supply of drugs. They want the government to hire more customs agents and border patrol officers to prevent drugs from entering the country and more police officers to arrest drug dealers. Some members of Congress want to use the military to inspect ships suspected of transporting cocaine or marijuana to the United States. They support U.S. foreign aid programs to train foreign police officers to catch drug traffickers and pay local farmers to grow new crops to replace those used to make illegal drugs.

Other policymakers say that the real problem is the demand for illegal drugs in the United States. They think that more money from the drug budget should be spent on education, treatment, and anti-poverty programs. These lawmakers want the government to focus more on drug users. They claim that drug producers, traffickers, and dealers will continue to operate as long as Americans are willing to buy drugs. They argue that the government should use its money to help users through treatment programs and to educate Americans, particularly youth, about the dangers of drugs.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

President Bush has made the "war on drugs" one of his priorities. In a September 1989 speech, he said, "...the war on drugs will be hard won, neighborhood by neighborhood, block by block, child by child. If we fight this war as a divided nation, then the war is lost. But, if we face this evil as a nation unified, our children will have a brighter future."

Many experts claim that U.S. drug policies do not address the roots of drug abuse, such as poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. They argue that drug use would decrease if the government spent more money to solve the underlying problems that cause people to use illegal drugs.

Gun Control. Many lawmakers contend that violent crime cannot be curbed unless handgun possession is limited. Proponents of gun control point out that handguns are the weapons of choice for violent crimes and are involved in 60 percent of all murders in the United States. Many people believe that the widespread availability of handguns contributes to this rate. Countries that have tight restrictions on handgun ownership have far fewer gun-related deaths than the United States. Gun control advocates want the government at least to require owners to register their handguns, and to perform mandatory background checks on all handgun buyers to ensure that they do not have criminal records. Some people want to ban the sale of handguns completely. They believe that such a ban would reduce both the number of guns available to criminals and the number of shootings resulting from accidents and arguments.

The perception that the police cannot prevent crime in many neighborhoods has caused millions of Americans to arm themselves for self-protection. More than a million handguns are sold in the United States each year.

INSTRUCTOR

National Rifle Association

Led by the National Rifle Association (NRA), opponents of gun control argue that the Second Amendment to the Constitution guarantees citizens the right to "keep and bear arms," thereby making any sort of gun control unconstitutional. They fear that any form of gun control, even requiring licenses for certain kinds of weapons, may be the first step toward government seizure of all guns. However, proponents of gun control contend that the Second Amendment does not rule out handgun regulation and protects only rifles and guns necessary to state militias.

Gun control opponents argue that restricting gun ownership would not prevent crime and would not keep criminals from obtaining guns. They say that criminals do not purchase guns legally. They warn that, ultimately, gun control could disarm the general public and place them at the mercy of well-armed criminals.

Overcrowded Prisons. The most pressing problem facing criminal justice officials today is overcrowded prisons. Federal and state prisons now house more than 673,000 prisoners. Most prisons operate at well over capacity. For example, federal prisons have up to 56 percent more inmates than they were built to accommodate.

Many prisons are old as well as overcrowded. Inadequate facilities often contribute to violence. The rate of homicides and suicides in prisons is double the rate in the general population. Overcrowding also leads to prison riots in which both inmates and guards have been killed. Courts have ruled that overcrowding in some prisons violates Eighth Amendment protections against cruel and unusual punishment. In the early 1980s, courts declared the prison systems in thirty-eight states unconstitutional because of severe overcrowding. To remedy these problems, the courts ordered states with overcrowded facilities to release some inmates on an emergency basis, transfer others to

American Correctional Association

Although most first-time offenders do not go to jail, the threat of prison is thought to deter crime. Currently, there are more than 673,000 prisoners incarcerated in state and federal prisons.

local jails, or spend millions of dollars to build new prisons.

But while the courts are ordering prison officials to release inmates from overcrowded facilities, new, tougher laws are sending hundreds more to prison. A national campaign against the use of illegal drugs has sent a new wave of offenders to prison. In addition, the public is demanding that lawmakers, police, and courts get tough with criminals. As a result, the prison population is growing by 800 inmates every week. One solution to overcrowding is to build more prisons. However, the cost of prison construction is high. The 1991 federal budget allocates $1.2 billion to construct space to house 6,175 inmates. But prison experts say that even with new construction, federal prisons will still have 30 percent more inmates in 1995 than they were built to accommodate. Prison officials cope with the overload by doubling the number of prisoners in cells and by converting recreation rooms into sleeping areas. In addition, the Federal Bureau of Prisons is converting abandoned military barracks, schools, and mental hospitals into prisons and searching for other alternatives to ease the nation's overcrowded prison system.

Ending Parole. Criminal justice officials have traditionally relied on parole to ease the burden on overcrowded prisons. Under parole, a prisoner is released before he or she has served a full term.

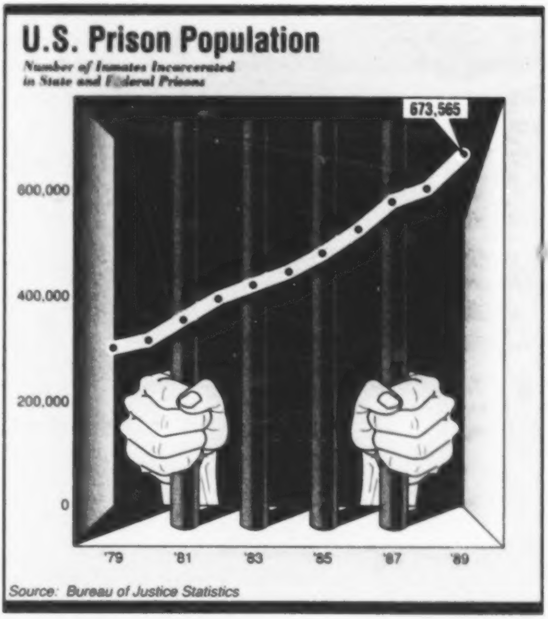
In recent years, many states have limited parole or repealed their parole programs altogether. In addition, federal sentencing guidelines will phase out parole for prisoners in federal facilities over the next three years. Those who favor ending parole argue that no one can really determine when a criminal has been rehabilitated. Eliminating parole protects the public by keeping prisoners in jail longer. Opponents of parole also say that releasing criminals early for "good behavior" ignores the victim's suffering and undermines society's belief that "crime does not pay."

Many prison officials question the policy of ending parole. They say that because prisons are already bursting at the seams, paroling prisoners is one of the few ways to relieve overcrowding. Prison officials claim that parole programs can be designed to protect society. For example, in the face of public demands for tougher treatment of criminals, many states with overcrowded prisons are turning to *intensive probation*—a program that involves close supervision of offenders by probation officers with small caseloads. Proponents claim that intensive probation can cost as little as one-fourth the price of keeping an inmate in prison.

Private Prisons. Some states are trying to reduce the high costs of constructing new prisons by contracting with private businesses to build and

Boot Camps

Several states are experimenting with a new kind of prison alternative—paramilitary style boot camps. Inmates in these camps follow a strict regimen of physical training, work, and study. Such inmates usually serve shorter sentences and are young, first-time offenders.



A rising crime rate and tougher sentencing have caused prisons to become dangerously overcrowded. In some cases, judges have ruled that overcrowded conditions in prisons violate the Constitution's guarantee against "cruel and unusual punishment" and have ordered prisons to reduce their inmate population.

operate prisons. Today, ten states allow prisons to be privately owned or operated. In many instances, private companies can run prisons more economically because they do not have to pay their employees the high salaries and benefits that government employees receive. But critics fear that private companies, under pressure to make a profit, might seek to economize on hiring staff, training for guards, and rehabilitation programs. Such cutbacks could lead to increased prison violence, harsher treatment of inmates, and more attempted escapes.

Alternatives to Prison. Officials in several states are considering alternatives to prison for people convicted of felonies such as assault, theft, and vandalism. For example, North Carolina has made it easier for some offenders to get paroled early. In addition, the North Carolina Center on Crime and Punishment estimates that the state could save $7 million each year by using alternatives such as hospitalization for inmates convicted of alcohol-related crimes. Other states are considering community service and "electronic house arrest," where convicts must wear a device that allows authorities to monitor their movements, as alternatives to prison.

Proponents of these plans say that they ease prison overcrowding and are less expensive than keeping minor offenders in prison. They claim that alcohol rehabilitation and community service programs help criminals deal with the problems that caused them to commit crimes in the first place. However, opponents to alternative programs argue that they are not tough enough. They say that alternatives to imprisonment simply return criminals to the community to commit more crimes.

The Death Penalty. In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled that capital punishment, as then applied by most states, violated the Eighth Amendment ban on cruel and unusual punishment. The Court reasoned that the death penalty was applied so randomly that it discriminated against minorities. In 1987, the Supreme Court decided, after many states had revised their death penalty statutes, that capital punishment itself was constitutional if applied fairly. Today, more than two thousand prisoners are on death row in thirty-seven states.

Public support for the death penalty has increased over the past twenty years. Throughout the 1980s, polls showed that support for the death penalty ranged between 66 and 74 percent. Supporters argue that it is the only appropriate punishment for treason and violent crimes such as rape and murder. Supporters also claim that capital punishment deters crime because potential criminals know that they will be executed if they are convicted of committing a serious crime.

Opponents of the death penalty believe that it is state-sanctioned murder. They contend that

Death Row

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, about 300 new convicts are sent to death row each year, but a lengthy appeals process means that relatively few are ever executed. On an average, almost nine years passes between the time of the crime and the execution date. About 40 percent of these convicts eventually win appeals to have their sentences changed.

there is no evidence to prove that capital punishment deters crime. Opponents also point out that the death penalty is irreversible. They claim that inevitably someone will be executed for a crime he or she did not commit. Others object to the death penalty because of recent Supreme Court decisions allowing execution of people who are mentally retarded or who committed their crimes when they were less than eighteen years of age.

Outlook

Crime affects one out of every four households each year. Policymakers disagree on how to lower crime rates, especially in areas where trade in illegal drugs has flourished. Some argue that the United States needs more law enforcement officials, tougher laws, stricter sentencing, and fewer restrictions on police actions. Others maintain that the real problems are drug abuse, poverty, unemployment, and depression, which lead to crime. They say that the government needs to solve these problems if it ever hopes to lower crime rates.

The Debate Crime

Should the Government Spend Money on Law Enforcement, Rather Than on Education and Social Programs, to End Illegal Drug Use?

PRO

The drug problem is a supply problem. The United States needs to stop the drug supply by training foreign police forces to destroy drug-producing plants and by paying foreign farmers to grow alternative crops. The government can disrupt the drug supply by increasing military involvement and toughening customs inspections to stop drugs from entering the country. And finally, states and cities should increase their own police forces to locate and arrest local drug dealers.

CON

Drugs are a problem because Americans are willing to pay for them. Government efforts to curb drug abuse should focus on education to persuade people to avoid drugs. For current users, the government should provide treatment programs to help addicts stop abusing illegal drugs. Finally, the government needs to solve social problems, such as poverty and unemployment, that cause people to turn to drugs. Until these root problems are solved, the demand for drugs will continue.

Should Handguns Be Registered?

PRO

Registering handguns and requiring a waiting period to check prospective buyers' backgrounds help to prevent crime. These rules also reduce the likelihood that a person will buy a gun and murder someone on impulse. The Constitution does not prohibit gun registration. Most courts—including the Supreme Court—have ruled that the Second Amendment only guarantees states the right to maintain a militia. Possession of handguns by individuals is not part of the right "to keep and bear arms."

CON

Registering firearms will not prevent criminals from obtaining guns. Gun control laws will only prevent law-abiding citizens from protecting their homes and families against armed criminals. The Second Amendment gives people the right to bear arms. Registration would be the first step toward a complete ban of handguns because it would provide authorities with the information needed to confiscate guns.

The Debate, Crime

Continued

Should Criminal Justice Officials End Parole?

PRO

Criminals need to know that "crime does not pay" and that if they break the law, they will serve their full sentences in prison. Releasing prisoners early ignores the suffering of victims and puts citizens at risk by letting potentially dangerous criminals go free. Besides, no one can tell if a prisoner has been rehabilitated and will not be a threat to the public if released early.

CON

Prisons are already overcrowded, and parole is one of the few ways to relieve overcrowding. Parole programs can be designed to protect the public and can cost as little as one-fourth the price of keeping the same person in prison. It does not make sense to pay to keep someone locked up if he or she can be released without being a threat to society. Our overcrowded prison system should be reserved for dangerous criminals and those that have not been rehabilitated.

Should the United States Allow the Death Penalty?

PRO

Some crimes are so heinous that they demand capital punishment. Murderers who kill in cold blood deserve no more pity than they showed their victims. The death penalty also deters crime, especially if imposed for treason, espionage, and murder of police officers and public figures.

CON

The death penalty does not allow a court or a jury to be wrong. An innocent person cannot be brought back to life after an execution. Traditionally, the courts have applied the death penalty in a discriminatory manner against minorities. Moreover, the death penalty does not deter someone who commits murder in a moment of passion or insanity.

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Introduction

From its beginning until the late 1800s, the United States largely stayed uninvolved in world affairs. However, as the nation became one of the strongest economic and military powers in the world, its ability to influence other nations grew. Today, events in other countries can have important effects in the United States, and American foreign policies affect other countries as well. For example, an increase or decrease in Soviet military spending often corresponds to a similar change in the U.S. defense budget. And a decline in the value of the U.S. dollar raises the prices of foreign goods sold in the United States.

Today's policymakers must decide how far the United States should go in making decisions that affect other countries. U.S. government officials need to determine which foreign policies are acceptable ways of dealing with other nations. For example, should the United States use the military to fight drug smugglers? If so, should the United States use its own troops or should it train another nation's police force to do the job?

The executive and legislative branches are both responsible for developing and conducting foreign policy. The president sets the agenda for foreign policy decisions. He appoints ambassadors, negotiates treaties, and sends American troops to other countries. The executive department charged with carrying out foreign policy is the Department of State. State Department employees represent the president in international negotiations, staff American embassies, and protect American investments and citizens abroad. Congress has the power to reject presidential nominations for ambassadors and State Department officials, declare war, amend treaties, provide money for economic and military aid, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific policy.

The federal government may use several means to carry out foreign policies. Some are often highly publicized, while others take place quietly and "behind the scenes." One way is to conduct meetings among diplomats or government leaders. Another way is through a nation's trade policies. The U.S. government may use restrictions on trade to protest actions or to protect American businesses facing competition from foreign products. A third method is to carry out foreign policy through economic or military aid programs. Or the U.S. government can use friendly persuasion, pressure, and advice to influence other governments. It may try to influence the citizens of other countries through newspapers, books, and radio and television broadcasts or arrange scientific and cultural exchanges to help promote goodwill toward the United States. And finally, the government can use military force to protect its interests and those of its allies.

As the president and Congress make foreign policy, they examine the many ways that the United States can influence other governments and decide which means are best. For example, should the United States try to persuade a foreign country to change its policies by imposing economic sanctions, or should it use military force? Which U.S. actions are appropriate and which are inappropriate? The challenge for foreign policymakers is to determine an acceptable level of U.S. involvement in the affairs of other countries.

The Soviet Union

For more than forty years, U.S.-Soviet relations were characterized chiefly by suspicion and mistrust. Today, however, the two nations seem to have arrived at a new level of trust.

In less than three years, President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev held four summit meetings. At their third meeting, the two men signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. This unprecedented agreement calls for both nations to destroy part of their nuclear arsenals.

President George Bush has had two meetings with Gorbachev, and both countries have proposed cuts in troops and weapons based in Europe. President Bush also favors reducing long-range nuclear weapons in the arsenals of both countries.

Some observers believe that much of the credit for the improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations belongs to Mikhail Gorbachev. As leader of the Soviet Union since 1985, Gorbachev has tried to reform the Soviet economic and political systems. Under his leadership, the Soviet Union has held contested elections, revised the constitution so that the communist party is no longer guaranteed a monopoly on power, and allowed its allies in Eastern Europe to abandon communism. Yet he continues to face challenges at home where he is criticized by some for implementing reforms too slowly and by others for moving too quickly. U.S. policymakers need to decide how the United States should respond to a changing Soviet Union. If Gorbachev's policies are the key to successful U.S.-Soviet relations, is there anything the United States can do to help him stay in power?

Key Questions

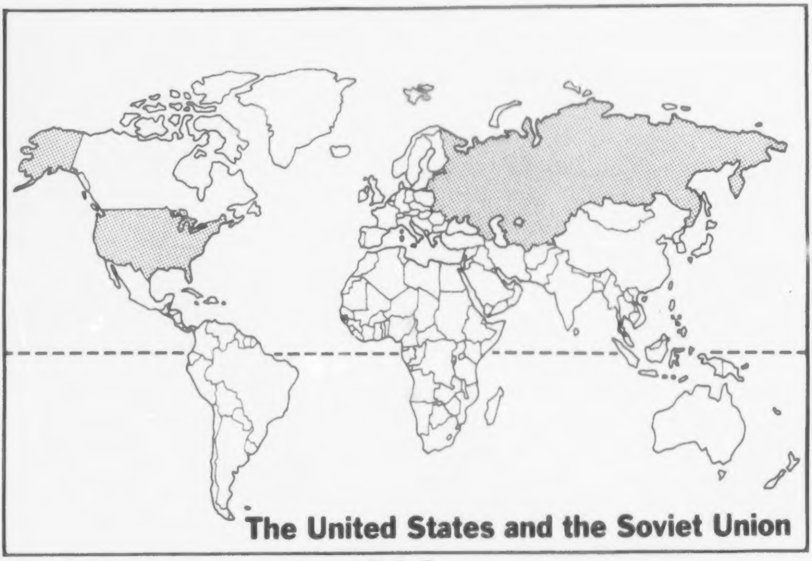
- Does the U.S. government accurately perceive Soviet motives?
- Should the United States negotiate further arms control agreements with the Soviet Union?
- Should the United States recognize Soviet republics that declare independence?

Background

U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1945-79

Origins of the Cold War. During World War II, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union put aside their differences and joined forces to fight Nazi Germany. But the alliance of the three nations deteriorated almost immediately after Germany's defeat in 1945. The Allies disagreed intensely over the form of government to be created in Eastern Europe. During the next few years, the Soviets set up communist regimes in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania; Germany was partitioned into communist and noncommunist areas; and the Soviet Union cut off access and communication between Eastern and Western Europe.

The Soviets believed that controlling Eastern Europe was essential to their security. Germany had invaded the Soviet Union twice in less than



The United States and the Soviet Union

twenty-five years, and the Soviets had lost twenty million people in World War II alone. The Soviet Union wanted Eastern Europe to be a buffer zone against future invasion from the West. The United States protested Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and developed a policy to contain further communist expansion. The period after World War II marked the beginning of the Cold War—a conflict fought with propaganda, intimidating arms buildups, and attempts to gain allies through the use of economic and military aid.

Soviet Life from Sovfoto

Vladimir Lenin, the first leader of the Soviet Union, guided the Communist party to power in Russia in 1917.

U.S. Policy: Containment. Under its policy of containment the United States tried to prevent further expansion of Soviet influence rather than force the Soviets out of Eastern Europe. Containment involved the following:

- providing billions of dollars in food, clothing, and industrial machinery to rebuild Western Europe
- giving military and economic aid to governments challenged by communists
- creating a permanent military alliance—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—among the United States, Canada, and most of the democracies of Western Europe

The Soviet Response. The U.S. policy of containment widened the growing split between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviets believed that the Western alliance, led by the United States, was trying to isolate the Soviet Union and take away its war gains. In response, the Soviet Union tightened its grip on Eastern Europe. Soviet troops stationed in Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Romania ensured the loyalty of the leaders of those countries to Moscow. In 1948, Czechoslovakian communists staged a government coup and brought their country into the Eastern bloc. In the same year, the Soviet Union created the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), which closely linked the Soviet and East European economies. And in 1955, the Soviets and their East European allies formed the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance similar to NATO.

East-West Competition. Although the Soviet Union increased its control over Eastern Europe, the first years of containment successfully prevented further Soviet expansion into Europe. The Western bloc of nations formed an effective counterbalance to the Soviet-led Eastern bloc. The United States and the Soviet Union considered these blocs to be *spheres of influence*, which could not be invaded without risking total war. But not every nation in the world belonged to the East or West bloc; thus the United States and the Soviet Union began to compete for new allies.

The Soviets turned to Latin America and to the Far East, where spheres of influence were not clearly defined. American strategists sought to block Soviet moves in those areas. U.S. leaders believed in the "domino theory," which held that if one country converted to communism, its neighbors would soon convert as well. In 1949, the Soviet Union allied itself with Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong. This alliance gave the Soviets great influence throughout Asia until the early 1960s, when China broke with the Soviet Union. In 1950, the Soviets backed a North Korean invasion of South Korea. The United States sent troops to repel the invasion. Although the war ended in a stalemate, the United States demonstrated that it would fight communist aggression around the world. In 1959, communist revolutionary Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba. After the United States refused to recognize his new government, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for support. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviets backed North Vietnam in its fight to unify all of

Vietnam under communist rule. The United States helped defend South Vietnam with troops and military aid, but in 1975, the Communists took over South Vietnam, thereby extending Soviet influence in Southeast Asia.

Cuban Missile Crisis: The Height of the Cold War. Many experts believe that the world came closest to nuclear war in October 1962, when the United States discovered that the Soviet Union was secretly constructing launching pads for nuclear missiles in Cuba. For seven days, the world waited as President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev engaged in tense negotiations. Finally, the Soviets agreed not to station nuclear missiles in Cuba. The scare of the Cuban missile crisis created a "thaw" in the Cold War, and the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty in 1963 limiting tests of nuclear weapons. Other steps were taken to improve relations between the superpowers, culminating in the Nixon administration's policy of detente.

Nixon, Kissinger, and Detente. Supporters of detente (a French word meaning "a relaxation of

In 1972, President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty in Moscow. The signing of the treaty marked the high point of detente, or the relaxation of tensions, between the United States and the Soviet Union during the 1970s.

National Archives

tensions") credit primarily President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, Nixon's national security advisor and secretary of state, for easing U.S.-Soviet tensions in the early 1970s. Detente reflected the belief that both the United States and the Soviet Union would benefit from maximizing cooperation and minimizing conflict. This meant frequent consultation between the leaders of the two superpowers to prevent minor disagreements from escalating into major confrontations. It also meant greater contact between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union. Between 1972 and 1974, the two nations signed eleven agreements to cooperate in space exploration, agriculture, health, environmental protection, and other fields. Trade opened up, and American corporations and banks established offices in Moscow.

Russians and Other Soviets

Americans tend to call all Soviet citizens Russians. But only half the people living in the Soviet Union are of Russian heritage. The Soviet Union is populated by dozens of nationalities and ethnic groups, including more than half the world's Armenians and more Turks than live in Turkey.

SALT I. The centerpiece of detente was the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty, signed by President Nixon and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev in 1972. This treaty was the first agreement to limit the number of nuclear weapons that each side could *deploy*, or station.

The most important part of the SALT I agreement was its limitation of antiballistic missile (ABM) systems. ABMs are defensive weapons designed to intercept and destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets. Both Americans and Soviets feared that if either side developed an ABM capable of making its defense system impenetrable, war would be more likely. The treaty permanently limited each nation to only two ABM systems. In addition to ABMs, SALT I placed limits on offensive weapons—nuclear missiles and bombers—but only for a five-year period. Both sides also agreed to negotiate a second SALT treaty.

Helsinki Accord. In 1975, detente reached another high point when leaders from the United

States, the Soviet Union, Canada, and thirty-five European countries gathered in Finland to sign the Helsinki Accord. Though nonbinding, this document outlined a framework for peaceful relations in Europe. Under the provisions of the Helsinki Accord, the West officially recognized the postwar borders of Eastern Europe. In return, the Soviet Union promised to increase intellectual freedom and human rights within the Eastern bloc.

Failure of SALT II. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Premier Brezhnev signed the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) Treaty. But the U.S. Senate never ratified SALT II. (All treaties require approval by two-thirds of the Senate.) Many senators believed the treaty made too many concessions to the Soviet Union, and some argued that the Soviet Union was spreading its influence in other areas of the world. President Carter withdrew the treaty from the Senate. The Soviets felt betrayed, and although the leaders of both countries said they would still honor SALT II, U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated rapidly.

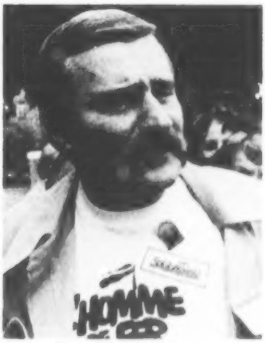
U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1980-1985

Invasion of Afghanistan. When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, relations

Reuters/Bettman Newsphotos

After more than nine years of fighting, the Soviet Union completed the withdrawal of 115,000 troops from Afghanistan in early 1989. Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to help its communist leader fight Moslem guerrilla forces in the country.

between the two superpowers became more hostile than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis. Most of the world's nations joined the United States in denouncing the Soviet invasion and calling for the Soviets to withdraw. After ten years of fighting the resourceful—and U.S.-supported—Afghan guerrilla forces, the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan, conceding that the war could not be won.



Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Lech Walesa, leader of the Solidarity labor union, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983. He negotiated the agreement with the communist government in Poland to hold open legislative elections, in which many noncommunists won seats.

Poland. Threatened by the growing strength of the Solidarity labor movement, the Polish army seized control of Poland in December 1981, declared martial law, and arrested hundreds of members of the Solidarity labor union, including its leader, Lech Walesa. Within a week of the crackdown, President Reagan imposed economic sanctions against Poland. Later, blaming Moscow for the turmoil in Poland, Reagan sharply reduced U.S.-Soviet trade and scientific exchanges. In 1984, however, the Polish government relaxed martial law and announced amnesty for Solidarity leaders. In response, the United States lifted its economic sanctions against Poland. Soon after, the United States and Poland exchanged diplomats for the first time in five years.

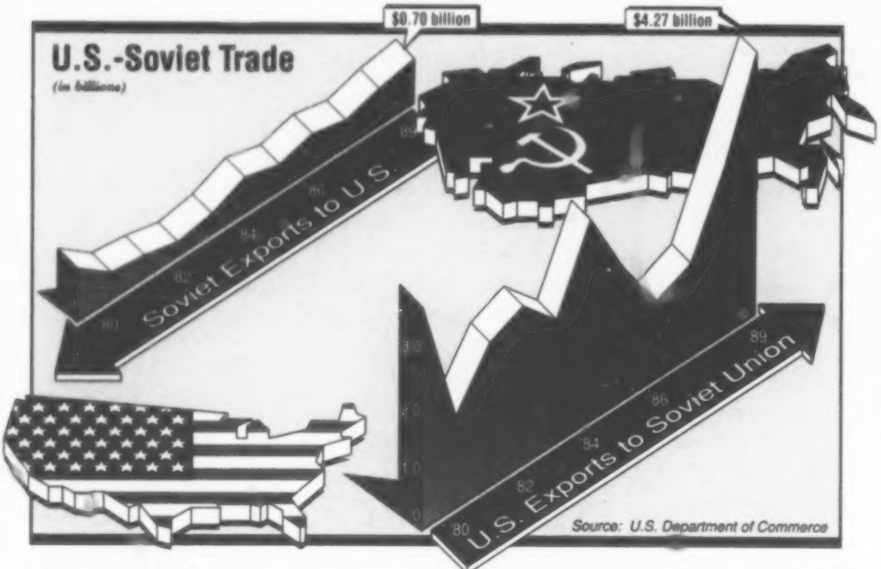
The START Talks. In 1982, the Soviets and Americans reopened arms control negotiations. President Reagan renamed the talks the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), proposing that the two nations reduce their arsenals of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The Soviet Union refused the U.S. offer, but proposed "freezing" the number of nuclear arms at current levels. Despite some progress, the Soviets walked out of the START negotiations in December 1983, in response to NATO's deployment in Western Europe of medium-range missiles—known as Pershing IIs.

Involvement in Latin America. In 1984, President Reagan accused Cuba and the Soviet Union of trying to spread communism throughout Latin America. Cuban and Soviet leaders acknowledged that they were involved in Latin America, but only in countries that requested aid or were fighting for their freedom. President Reagan asked Congress to increase aid to help the government of El Salvador defeat communist guerrillas fighting there. He also asked Congress to supply arms to the anticommunist *contras*, who were fighting the pro-Soviet, Sandinista government of Nicaragua. At first, Congress approved aid for both El Salvador and the *contras*, although funding for the *contras* was cut in later years.

U.S. Policies Toward the Soviet Union. Events in Poland and Afghanistan showed the limited ability of the United States to respond to Soviet interference in other countries. In the past, the United States has used military force, trade sanctions, and aid to anticommunist forces to counter Soviet involvement in other nations.

Military Force. When President Kennedy discovered that the Soviet Union was preparing to install nuclear missiles in Cuba, he placed U.S. strategic units on alert and ordered the navy to blockade the island. Faced with American naval superiority and the threat of nuclear annihilation, the Soviets backed down. However, as the capabilities of the Soviet military began to rival that of the American forces, the United States could no longer be assured that the Soviet Union would retreat in a similar confrontation. For this reason—and because of painful memories of the U.S. experience in Vietnam—recent administrations have been reluctant to use military force and have instead imposed trade sanctions.

Trade Sanctions. Trade sanctions were imposed to hurt the Soviets by denying them goods they needed. For example, after Soviet troops



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

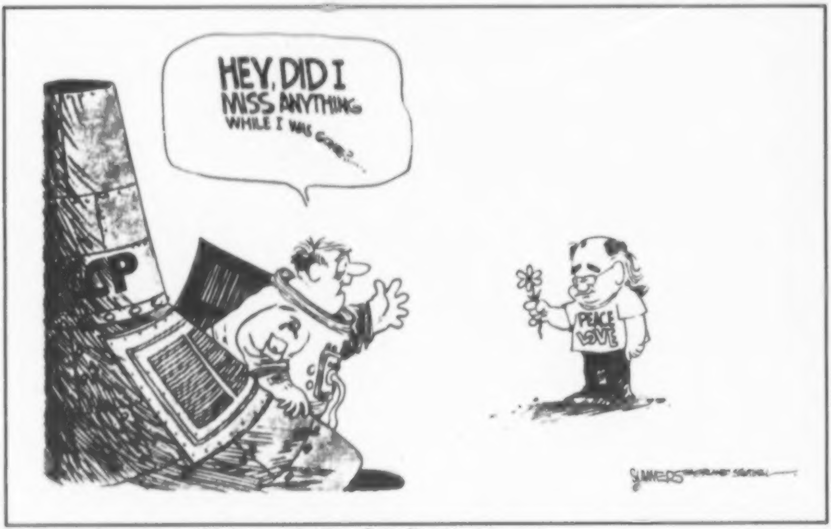
Some experts predict that trade between the United States and the Soviet Union will increase as political relations between the two countries improve. The United States exports mostly agricultural products to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union exports raw materials, such as oil, natural gas, chrome, and platinum to the United States.

invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the United States refused to ship wheat to the Soviet Union. However, this sanction was unsuccessful because Argentina did not back the grain embargo and sold enough grain to the Soviets to make up for the loss of American wheat.

Aid to Anticommunist Forces. The United States has also tried to counter Soviet influence in other countries by providing economic and military aid to anticommunist forces. For example, the Reagan administration sent aid to rebel groups fighting communist governments in Nicaragua, Cambodia, and Afghanistan.

U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1985-Present

New Soviet Leadership. In early 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the fourth leader of the Soviet Union in three years. At the relatively young age of fifty-four, Gorbachev brought pragmatic leadership to the Soviet government. He began to


HEY, DID I MISS ANYTHING WHILE I WAS GONE?...
CP
PEACE LOVE
SUMMERS

Dana Summers/*Orlando Sentinel* ©1989, Washington Post Writers Group. Reprinted with permission.

make changes in the Soviet Union's relations with the United States, in its foreign policy toward other communist states, and in its own economic and political systems.

Changes in U.S.-Soviet Relations. Gorbachev immediately began taking steps to improve relations with the United States. He proposed reopening the stalled arms control negotiations in Geneva and meeting with President Reagan to improve relations between the two countries. The four Reagan-Gorbachev summits that followed were the most extensive talks between the leaders of the two superpowers in the last fifteen years.

In 1987, the two leaders signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the first major arms control agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in eight years. The INF Treaty is the first agreement to actually destroy weapons in the world's nuclear arsenal. The Soviet Union will destroy more than 1,900 intermediate-range missiles, and the United States will

President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev exchange pens after signing the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty. In this historic agreement, the two superpowers agreed to destroy an entire category of nuclear weapons.

Harry Hamburg/New York Daily News

destroy about 800. The treaty also provides for extensive on-site inspection of missile sites to verify compliance.

In 1988, Gorbachev came to New York to speak to the United Nations and to meet briefly with President Reagan and President-elect George Bush. At that time, the Soviet leader announced that his country would cut its forces in Eastern Europe by removing 50,000 troops, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 guns, and 800 combat planes within two years. However, events in Eastern Europe have quickened the pace of Soviet troop withdrawals.

Changes in Eastern Europe. In 1989, communist governments in six Eastern European countries gave up their power after thousands of their citizens demonstrated in favor of democracy and free-market economies. Poland was the first East European nation to hold elections in which a sizeable number of noncommunists were elected to government offices. Other nations followed Poland's example and voted the communists out of office. The Soviet Union restrained from sending in troops to keep the communists in power as it had done in the past.

Changes in the Soviet Union. As the nations of Eastern Europe have been abandoning commu-

OKUPANTAI
LAUK
MES NORIME
SUGRIZTI
EUROPA

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

In early 1990, thousands of Lithuanians protested the incorporation of their republic into the Soviet Union fifty years ago. They carried nationalist flags and banners reading "Occupiers Out." The newly elected Lithuanian parliament later declared the republic independent of the Soviet Union.

nism, the Soviets are also becoming more democratic. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union has held multicandidate elections for a new legislature that will have greater powers. This legislature recently revised the constitution to revoke the communist party's right to be the leading power in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet republic of Lithuania, local communists declared themselves independent of the party in Moscow. And in local elections in Lithuania, the Communists lost to members of the Lithuanian National Front, who later declared the republic an independent nation. The Soviet Union refused to recognize the independence of Lithuania. Some Soviet leaders fear that discontent in other republics could lead to more declarations of independence from the Soviet Union.

Current Issues

U.S. Perceptions of Soviet Motives. People in the United States tend to have radically different views of the Soviet Union. One school of thought holds that the Soviet Union is still dangerous and bent on world domination. Supporters of this view believe that arms control and trade must be limited because they may increase Soviet power. They accuse the Soviet Union of financing and arming terrorist groups, supporting radical anti-American movements, and sending "proxy forces" such as Cuban troops to fight wars in Africa and elsewhere. They also blame the Soviets for perpetuating the arms race by producing newer and deadlier weapons to achieve military superiority.

Another school of thought believes that differences between the United States and the Soviet Union occur because neither side appreciates or understands the interests or actions of the other. Supporters of this view say that the Soviets do not want to take over the world. They point to the recent changes in Eastern Europe as evidence that the Soviet Union is willing to give up its influence in other countries. These experts strongly favor arms control negotiations and trade between the United States and the Soviet Union. They argue that such measures reduce mistrust and expand common interests, lessening the chances of war.

Arms Control. Americans disagree over how the United States should approach its relations with the Soviet Union. One area of contention is the debate over arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. Those who believe that U.S.-Soviet conflicts are the result of misunderstanding favor arms control negotiations to reduce mistrust and the chances of war. They favor continued negotia-

George Bush held his first meeting as president with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989 aboard U.S. and Soviet ships off the coast of Malta in the Mediterranean. Among other topics, the two leaders discussed the changes in Eastern Europe.

The White House/David Valdez

tions to reduce not only troop levels in Europe but also the long-range nuclear arsenals of both superpowers. Supporters of arms control believe that the Soviets are less of a threat to the United States than ever before. They claim that Gorbachev desires to reduce the Soviet defense budget so that he can spend more money modernizing the Soviet economy. Arms control advocates maintain that the Soviet Union's restraint in allowing its East European allies to abandon communist governments shows that Soviet leaders do not desire world domination but rather peaceful relations with their neighbors. Such advocates also argue that the main purpose of U.S. nuclear forces—preventing a Warsaw Pact attack on Western Europe—is no longer valid now that Soviet troops are leaving Eastern Europe.

Perestroika

Soviet leader Gorbachev began to reform the Soviet economy in 1986 through his *perestroika*, or restructuring, program. Many of his economic reforms involve greater reliance on free market principles. For example, many Soviet factories are now run by managers rather than party leaders. Managers rely on profits, instead of government funding, to operate their businesses and can decide whether to invest their profits in new machinery or give pay raises to their employees.

Opponents of further arms control agreements believe that such agreements could be dangerous. They say that the Soviet Union is still a threat and should not be trusted, pointing to continued Soviet support of communist governments in Cuba, North Korea, and Afghanistan. They also claim that the Soviets continue to produce more weapons than are necessary. For example, the Soviet Union produces five times as many tanks as the United States. Critics of further arms control claim that Gorbachev may desire arms control to build up a weak Soviet economy that will be able to produce more weapons after several years of economic reform. Other skeptics believe that Gorbachev will not survive the challenges he is facing in his country. They think that he will be replaced by a hardline leader who will return to the old antagonist policies toward the United States. They say that now is not the time for arms control, arguing that if the United States reduces its arsenal now, it may fall behind the Soviets.

Independence Movements. In 1989 and 1990, Gorbachev was faced with unrest in several republics of the Soviet Union. In some areas, violence broke out between ethnic groups. In others, nationalist groups moved to separate from the Soviet Union. The first republic to try to break away was Lithuania. Prior to local elections in Lithuania, the local communist party had severed its ties with the national party. However, the local communists were still outvoted and were replaced in parliament by reformers who voted for independence.

Some U.S. officials believe that the United States should recognize Lithuania as a separate country. They argue that U.S. policy has always been that Lithuania, as well as the other Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia, were illegally taken by the Soviet Union in 1940. They claim that Americans have always been committed to a policy of self-determination—the idea that all people have a right to run their own affairs. Supporters of recognizing Lithuania's independence argue that if Soviet republics vote to become independent, they should have the right to form their own country. They say that failure of the United States to recognize breakaway republics as independent nations is a denial of U.S. principles.

Americans who oppose recognizing Lithuania and other Soviet republics that declare independence argue that those republics rightfully belong to the Soviet Union. The three Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—had been part of Russia since the 1700s. Only in the turbulent years immediately following the communist revolution did they gain independence. In 1940, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin regained the territories in a pact with Germany. Opponents of recognition argue that the United States should only recognize the independence of republics that secede according to Soviet law. They point out that the Soviet Union has a set procedure for withdrawing from the country and that if the republics expect U.S. support, they should follow these procedures and negotiate with the govern-

Glasnost

In 1986, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced that he wanted to "open up" Soviet society to new ideas. Under a policy of *glasnost*, or "openness," Gorbachev has released many previously censored books, plays, and films; declared a national "war" on alcohol and drug abuse; allowed Soviet reporters to expose government corruption; and freed many political dissidents from prison. Some experts believe that *glasnost* is proof that Gorbachev is willing to make significant changes in the role of government in Soviet society.

ment in Moscow. Others argue that breakaway republics undermine Gorbachev's authority. They claim that if the Soviet Union begins to break apart into separate countries, hardline leaders might gain power in Moscow and replace Gorbachev with a leader who is willing to keep the Soviet Union together at any cost. Such a leader is likely to be more hostile to the United States, especially if the United States supports the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Outlook

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have changed dramatically since the early 1980s. The two countries have negotiated the first nuclear arms reduction treaty, increased cultural and scientific exchanges, and sought ways to improve trade. Much of this change can be attributed to Mikhail Gorbachev, whose leadership is likely to have a dramatic effect on U.S.-Soviet relations for years to come. A new era of trust now seems to be dawning between the two most powerful nations in the world.

Reforms in the Soviet Union affect its relations with the United States. Economic reforms mean that Soviet leaders are looking for ways to cut the military budget so they can devote more money to restructuring factories and producing more consumer goods. The Soviet Union is negotiating with the United States to cut arms and troops. Political reforms have led to open elections in the Soviet Union but also to calls for independence in some Soviet republics. American policymakers must decide whether U.S. interests would be advanced best by supporting Gorbachev as he faces economic and political challenges in his country or by allowing events in the Soviet Union to run their course.

The Debate The Soviet Union

Does the U.S. Government Accurately Perceive Soviet Motives?

PRO

The Soviet Union has demonstrated its desire for world domination time after time. It continues to support communist governments in Cuba, North Korea, and Afghanistan. The Soviet Union continues to produce sophisticated and dangerous weapons to fight the United States and U.S. allies in Western Europe. The United States must continue to build its military strength to counter Soviet aggression.

CON

The Soviets do not want to take over the world; they merely want to assure the security of their own nation. Their foreign policy actions are reactions to anti-Soviet moves by the United States and to the belief that enemies surround them. They have shown that they are willing to withdraw arms and troops from Eastern Europe and even to allow those nations to abandon communism.

Should the United States Negotiate Further Arms Control Agreements with the Soviet Union?

PRO

The United States should respond to Soviet desires to reduce arms and troops. The Soviet Union is reducing its forces in Eastern Europe, and the United States should match these reductions. Arms reductions make the world a safer place, and the money saved from cutting the U.S. military budget could be put to better uses, such as education and social programs.

CON

The Soviet Union is still a threat to the United States and to Europe. Even if the Soviets withdraw from Eastern Europe, the United States should not eliminate its forces in Western Europe because Soviet troops could easily return. In case of a European war, the United States would then have to transport troops and arms across an ocean, which would take too much time.

Should the United States Recognize Soviet Republics that Declare Independence?

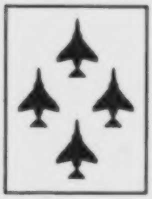
PRO

All the people of the Soviet Union should be free to form their own countries if they choose to do so. The Baltic countries, in particular, have the right to secede because they were illegally seized by the Soviet Union in 1940. U.S. policy has always been that these states do not legally belong to the Soviet Union.

CON

The United States should not recognize republics that leave the Soviet Union without following proper procedures for becoming independent. U.S. recognition could also undermine current Soviet reforms and cause problems in U.S.-Soviet relations. The United States should not risk jeopardizing Gorbachev's position and the return of a hardline leader in the Soviet Union.

Defense



Traditionally, the U.S. military has trained to defend the country against one main enemy—the Soviet Union. During the 1980s under President Ronald Reagan, the U.S. government increased defense spending because Reagan believed that the military was weak and outdated and that it was falling behind the Soviet Union. Reagan pursued a policy of "peace through strength." The increased defense spending helped the United States produce more nuclear missiles, develop advanced bombers, and begin work on a defense system based in space.

Many Americans believe that Ronald Reagan's peace through strength policy worked. With its renewed military might, the United States was able to negotiate successfully with the Soviet Union to reduce nuclear forces in Europe. On the other hand, many people are convinced that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was more responsible for these force reductions. They claim that Gorbachev's reforms within the Soviet Union and his willingness to improve relations with the United States helped to bring about these changes.

When the governments of Eastern Europe began to reject communism, some officials began to talk about bringing U.S. troops and weapons home from Western Europe. Some experts say that the Soviet military threat has all but disappeared and that it is now time to scale back the U.S. military. Others argue that while the threat from the Soviet Union has lessened, the United States should continue to maintain a strong defense because threats from other areas of the world are increasing. And so the debate over defense policy today concerns how much the United States should reduce its military, if at all.

Key Questions

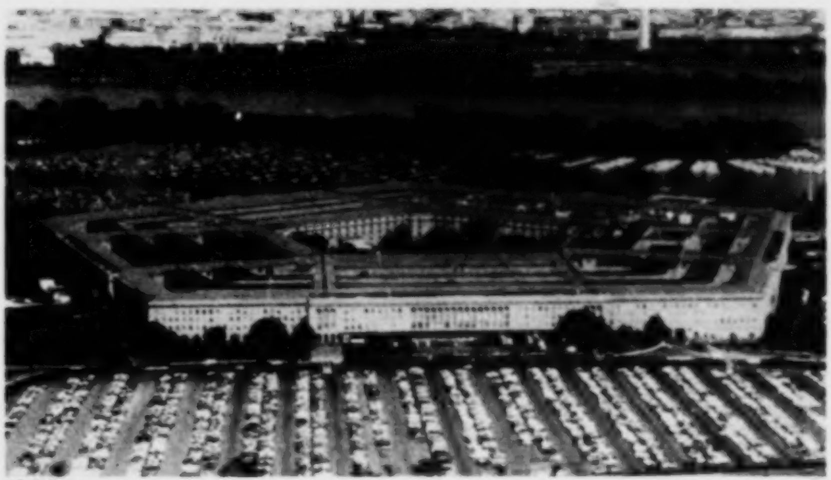
- Should the defense budget be decreased?
- Should the United States restructure its forces to train for small-scale conflicts in troubled areas?
- Should Congress have the power to block the use of military force by the president?

Background

U.S. Defense Policy

Do We Need a Strong Defense? The United States is not presently at war with anyone. So why does the government spend billions of dollars each year on defense? One reason is that maintaining a strong military can *deter*, or prevent, other nations from attacking. American leaders want potential enemies to know that if the United States is attacked, it will repel the invasion and defeat the attacking country. The United States also uses its armed forces to demonstrate its power and to show its determination to protect America's international interests by helping maintain stable and friendly governments in Western Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Far East.

Since the end of World War II, U.S. military forces have trained primarily to fight one enemy—the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the United States are adversaries because each nation believes that its national interests are in direct conflict with the other's interests. Moreover, the Soviet Union is the only nation that rivals the United States in military power. For nearly fifty years the two nations have been involved in an *arms race* in which each country tries to match the military force of the other. Americans have spent billions of dollars trying to keep up with the Soviets. The two sides have also competed for influence and power throughout the world. Some experts say that the Soviet Union is no longer a threat. They claim that the collapse of communist governments in Eastern Europe and Nicaragua prove the Soviet Union's failure to spread communism. The Soviet Union and its allies are beginning to look more like their Western counterparts as their governments allow more freedom, hold



U.S. Air Force

The Pentagon, outside of Washington, D.C., serves as the headquarters for the U.S. Department of Defense. It is from here that plans are made to carry out the main duties of America's armed forces, including defending the United States and Western Europe, deterring nuclear war, ensuring freedom of the seas, and providing armed support for U.S. foreign policy efforts.

democratic elections, and permit opposition political parties.

American leaders are now considering updating U.S. military strategy to take into account the recent changes throughout the world. Some officials suggest that the military should reduce its number of troops, slow down weapons production, and redefine its mission deemphasizing conflict with the Soviet Union.

Currently the United States has approximately two million people in uniform, making up the air force, army, navy, and marine corps. Although each branch of the service has its own mission, many functions overlap. America's armed forces are expected to defend the United States, deter nuclear war, protect Western Europe from attack, provide forces in support of U.S. foreign policy, and ensure freedom of the seas.

U.S. Nuclear Strategy. The United States has a large arsenal of nuclear weapons to deter not only a conventional attack, but also a nuclear strike. Its nuclear defense forces are based on a three-part, or *triad,* system of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), long-range bombers, and submarines carrying nuclear missiles. The triad ensures that if an enemy attacks American land-based missiles, the United States will still have enough bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) to destroy the attacker.

When the United States was the only country that had nuclear weapons, it used the threat of nuclear attack to deter other nations from starting a war. American leaders promised that they would respond to an attack against the United States or its allies with a full nuclear attack. They believed that the nuclear threat was essential to counter the tremendous size and strength of the Soviet army. Building nuclear weapons was much cheaper than maintaining an army large enough to repel an attack by the Soviet Union. But when the Soviets developed their own nuclear weapons, American military planners realized that a nuclear strike on the Soviet Union could result in Soviet nuclear retaliation against the United States. This fear led to a new realization: the nuclear capabilities of the Soviet Union and the United States could deter each nation from attacking the other.

Until recently, the foundation of U.S. nuclear policy was called "mutually assured destruction" (MAD). Under this concept, the United States assumed that no country would start a nuclear war knowing that it too would be destroyed. Defense strategists still operate under the concept of nuclear deterrence, but no longer believe an all-out nuclear attack is likely. Instead, they think it is more probable that both sides would exchange a series of nuclear attacks on individual military targets until one side gives in. Critics of U.S. nuclear strategy fear that an exchange of nuclear attacks would not be limited to military targets and that such conflicts would inevitably escalate into all-out nuclear war. They want the United States to agree that it will not use nuclear weapons unless another country uses them against it first.

Burden Sharing

Each year, the United States spends roughly $150 billion on defending its allies overseas, including Western Europe, South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines. Some policy-makers are now arguing that Western Europe and Japan can afford more for their own defense because they have healthy, growing economies. Many Americans agree. A recent Gallup poll found that 58 percent of Americans believe that Western Europe and Japan are not contributing enough to their own defense.

U.S. Navy

The nuclear-powered aircraft carrier **USS Nimitz** *is shown here participating in a routine NATO training exercise off the coast of Norway. Despite the importance to Europe's defense, many Europeans complain when these military maneuvers take place near their homes.*

The Defense of Allies. The defense of Western Europe is important to the United States. The United States maintains a force of about 300,000 troops in Western Europe and spends billions of dollars for Europe's defense. In addition, the United States belongs to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance that includes Canada, most of Western Europe, Greece, and Turkey. Likewise, the Soviet Union belongs to a similar alliance—the Warsaw Pact—that includes East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria.

Along with protecting its NATO allies, the United States is also committed by treaty to defend other allies around the world, including Japan, South Korea, and many Latin American countries.

Reagan's Defense Buildup. After the United States withdrew from Vietnam, U.S. military spending was reduced. However, critics of defense budget cuts argued that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in military strength. In 1981, when Ronald Reagan took office, the annual defense budget was $180 billion. By 1988, it had grown to $299 billion. Much of this money was used to purchase ninety new warships, 4,000 tanks, hundreds of modern aircraft, and to develop new weapons such as the MX, Midgetman, and Trident D-5 missiles and the B-1 and Stealth bombers.

Use of Force. During the Cold War years of the 1950s and 1960s, the United States often used military force to support troubled pro-American governments, especially those fighting a communist-backed invasion or insurrection. In 1950, when the army of communist North Korea invaded the noncommunist country of South Korea, the United States entered the war—along with a United Nations "police force"—to defend the South Koreans. In 1954, when it appeared that the army of communist revolutionary Ho Chi Minh would take over Vietnam, the United States entered what proved to be a twenty-one-year war with immense human and monetary costs. Perceptions of a communist threat also led to U.S. intervention in Guatemala (1954), Lebanon (1958), Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Grenada (1983).

The United States became more reluctant to "flex its muscles" after the Vietnam War. But when Iranian rebels took over the American embassy in Tehran and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the United States renewed its commitment to a military that was capable of protecting U.S. interests around the world. In 1982, President Reagan sent marines to Lebanon to police a cease-fire in that country's civil war. The cease-fire was brief and Lebanese factions frequently attacked the marines, viewing them as interlopers. The worst attack was a suicide terrorist bombing that killed 241 people at the marine headquarters. The marines were withdrawn to avoid further casualties.

The most recent use of force was the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989 to oust Panamanian leader Manuel Noriega. Noriega surrendered to

Who Sells Guns to Whom?

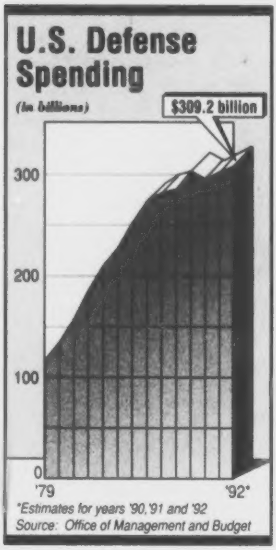
From 1982 to 1988, Warsaw Pact members purchased $35 million worth of weapons from NATO countries. During the same period, NATO countries purchased $165 million in arms from the Warsaw Pact members.

Department of Defense

In 1989, American forces invaded Panama to oust its leader, Manuel Noriega, who was wanted on drug trafficking charges in the United States. Democratically elected leaders, who had been denied their offices by Noriega, were installed shortly after the U.S. invasion, and Noriega was brought to the United States for trial.

U.S. forces and was brought to the United States to face drug trafficking charges. Noriega's government was replaced by a new administration that had been chosen in democratic elections in May 1989. Noriega had cancelled that vote and installed his own candidate as president.

The War Powers Act. The War Powers Act, passed in 1973, allows, but limits, the president's use of American troops for missions such as the invasion of Panama. The act helped define the powers of Congress and of the president in such situations. The Constitution names the president commander in chief of the military, but gives Congress the power to declare war. Since the end of World War II, presidents have sent U.S. military forces to other countries on several occasions without Congress declaring war. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Congress passed the War Powers Act of 1973—over the objections of President Richard Nixon—giving Congress more control over the use of troops by the president. The act requires the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone, places a time limit on the use of troops without approval from Congress or a declaration of war, and gives Congress the power to order the president to bring the troops home.



*Estimates for years '90, '91 and '92
Source: Office of Management and Budget

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the United States defense budget has more than tripled. Some experts say that defense spending is out of control and that it is time to cut the Pentagon's budget. However, those who oppose defense cuts claim that U.S. armed forces must keep pace with the Soviet Union. They say that defense is one area of the federal budget that the nation cannot afford to cut.

Current Issues

Should the Government Spend Less Money on Defense? The 1991 budget called for an increase of $5 billion in the defense budget over the previous year. However, because this increase does not keep up with inflation, defense experts predict that their spending power will actually be reduced by 2.6 percent. Some members of Congress say that the United States cannot afford such large expenditures for defense. They argue that the military should not be immune to the fiscal restraint necessary to reduce the federal deficit. Budget cutters contend that there is too much waste in military spending. They claim that the Pentagon spends large amounts of money on weapons that do not work or are prone to breakdown. They also cite overcharges by military contractors.

Officials who want to reduce defense spending say that the Pentagon has achieved most of the goals of the Reagan defense buildup and that many of the programs begun under the Reagan administration are no longer needed because of the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They argue that the United States should stop programs designed to deter the Soviet Union and reduce U.S. forces in Europe, pointing to the willingness of Soviet leaders to reduce their presence in Eastern Europe. Those who favor cutting defense spending claim that some programs, such as the Stealth bomber, could be eliminated. Each Stealth bomber, a plane designed to drop nuclear bombs without being detected by radar systems, costs $500 million. Some members of Congress claim that the money spent on these and other military weapons should be used to solve domestic problems such as housing, education, and crime.

Advocates of increased military spending argue that budget cutters are focusing too much attention on dollars and too little on the question of whether the nation is adequately maintaining its national security and deterring aggression. Opponents of defense cuts say that defense is the one area of the budget that the nation can least afford to cut. They claim that cuts in defense spending threaten national security and that such cuts place the United States at risk of falling behind the Soviet Union militarily. They argue that the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe may not be permanent and that the United States still needs to be prepared to defend itself and Western Europe from Soviet attack. Proponents of a strong military note that the Soviet military still has more troops and equipment in Europe than the United States and its allies and still continues to modernize its arsenal. They argue that projects such as the Stealth bomber should not be stopped because the bombers can perform other functions besides dropping nuclear bombs. Some defense experts say that the United States needs to continue updating its military to deal with possible conflicts in other areas of the world, particularly the Middle East, where countries are making ballistic missiles and chemical weapons.

Proponents of increased defense spending argue that budget cuts reduce salaries for military personnel, which lowers morale and makes it difficult to recruit and keep the most qualified people. Less money would force the Pentagon to delay purchases of new weapons; slow the upgrading of older planes, ships, and military housing; reduce spending for weapons research and development; and decrease the number of American soldiers on duty around the world. Some members of Congress oppose a cut in defense spending because it would close military bases and reduce the profits of defense contractors in their states and districts.

A Six-Point Plan

According to the Department of Defense, the six basic operations of U.S. security assistance programs to other nations are to:

- **promote peace in the Middle East**
- **enhance cooperative defense and security**
- **deter and combat aggression**
- **promote regional stability**
- **promote key interests through foreign military sales and commercial military exports**
- **promote professional military relationships**

The Changing Mission of the U.S. Military. As the Soviet Union and its allies reform their own

Department of Defense

Developed in secrecy for nearly ten years, the B-2, or Stealth bomber, was unveiled to the public in November 1988. The plane's unique design enables it to escape enemy radar detection. The Air Force is planning to buy 132 B-2s at a cost of more than $520 million per plane.

governments, some defense experts say that they are less likely to go to war against the United States and Western Europe. These experts point out that the United States and the Soviet Union are negotiating reductions in troops and weapons in Europe and that the United States should restructure its military to focus less on the Soviet Union and its allies and more on fighting different kinds of conflicts that are more likely to occur in the future. These officials want the military to budget more money for combating drugs, fighting terrorism, and preparing soldiers for military conflicts in the Third World. Some experts note that many Third World nations are spending large portions of their budgets on ballistic and cruise missiles. They estimate that by the year 2000, as many as six Third World nations could send missiles carrying chemical, biological, or nuclear warheads more than 3,000 miles. Presence of these weapons in politically unstable countries could be dangerous to the United States. Some experts say that the U.S. military is ill-prepared to respond to crises in Third World countries. They claim that the United States needs to change its focus from large troop deployments with heavy equipment such as tanks to more mobile, lightly armed troops ready to be rushed to trouble spots around the world. They claim that the military now lacks the firepower for this type of combat as well as the helicopters, planes, ships, and trucks needed to transport such units quickly.

Other military officials disagree with the new emphasis on preparing for smaller, regional conflicts. They say that the main enemy is still the Soviet Union and that a major goal of U.S. armed forces is the defense of the United States and Western Europe. Such officials believe that the moves toward free market economics and more democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are reversible and that the situation may change as the Soviet Union faces internal economic and political problems. Some fear that the economic hardships caused by the transition to free market economics may bring back more hardline Soviet leaders who will return to the old policies of communism and distrust of the West. In addition, some claim that even if the proposed reductions in missiles and warheads are made, the Soviet nuclear arsenal will still be more technologically advanced and powerful in the next decade than it is today.

The War Powers Act. The War Powers Act has sparked controversy ever since it was passed in 1973. Prior to the passage of the act, presidents sent U.S. troops abroad without consulting Congress. Supporters of the War Powers Act say that the law corrects this situation by giving Congress more control over the use of U.S. troops. Supporters of the act claim that the framers of the constitution intended to divide responsibility for making war between the president and Congress. The Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war and to raise and support armed forces, while the president is the commander in chief of those forces. Those who support the War Powers Act say that it is a useful check on the president's use of troops. They contend that the use of the

Department of Defense

Despite modern, high-tech weapons such as computer-controlled missiles and laser-guided guns, U.S. armed forces rely on a large number of people to carry out their missions. The United States has 2 million troops in uniform—about one-fourth of whom are stationed overseas.

military should not be left solely to presidents and their advisers. Some policymakers argue that Congress needs to have a role in deploying U.S. troops because members of Congress were elected to represent the people who will fight, and possibly die, in other lands.

Most presidents have opposed the War Powers Act and other checks on their use of American troops. Critics of the act say that efforts to restrict the president's power takes away his or her flexibility to deal with unforeseen events. They argue that international crises are too complex and too sudden to let Congress have more than a limited voice in foreign affairs. They also claim that during a crisis presidents are the only ones who receive all the detailed information needed to decide whether to use force. Opponents of the law contend that congressional involvement restricts presidents unnecessarily, delays American action, and might lead to the disclosure of top secret information. They say that Congress should make use of its constitutional power by supporting the armed forces rather than taking away from the president's power as commander in chief. Critics of the War Powers Act believe that once the military is equipped, it is the president's responsibility alone to decide how to use the forces. Then if Congress does not approve of the president's decision, it can bring the troops home by cutting off the money used to pay for the war.

Outlook

The Bush administration faces tough challenges on America's defense. The security needs of the United States are changing. The threat of smaller, regional conflicts is greater. The Soviet Union is still an adversary, but an adversary that some observers believe to be less hostile. Worldwide political changes and the U.S. budget deficit are making it more difficult for policymakers to justify spending large sums of money on defense. U.S. military officials must now decide how they will spend their shrinking share of the U.S. budget. Should the United States continue to equip its forces for a war against the Soviet Union or should it turn to new mobile, light infantry forces that are better equipped to battle drug traffickers, terrorists, and Third World armies?

The Debate Defense

Should the Defense Budget Be Decreased?

PRO

We spend too much money for defense. The Pentagon wastes money every year by paying millions of dollars to defense contractors who purposely overcharge the government for weapons and parts. Furthermore, as the threat from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe decreases, the United States does not need to continue its military buildup and modernization.

CON

The government's first priority is to protect the national security of the United States. A strong military requires additional funds every year. We need the most advanced weapons and the most highly trained military possible to deter Soviet aggression. The cost of new weapons is not excessive and should not be an issue when the nation's survival is at stake.

Should the United States Restructure Its Forces to Train for Small-Scale Conflicts in Troubled Areas?

PRO

The U.S. military lacks the equipment and training necessary to fight limited conflicts in world trouble spots. The threat from drug traffickers, terrorists, and unstable countries with sophisticated weapons is growing. To fight these new threats, the armed forces needs to restructure some its forces into rapidly deployable mobile units with light equipment.

CON

Arguments for restructuring ignore the real threat to the United States: the Soviet Union. Even if proposed arms control agreements cut Soviet troops and weapons in Europe, the Soviet modernization program will give that country a more deadly military than the one today. The United States should spend its limited resources preparing to defend itself against attack from these powerful Soviet weapons.

Should Congress Have the Power to Block the Use of Military Force by the President?

PRO

Every president since World War II has sent troops into combat situations without a congressional declaration of war. The authors of the Constitution intended that the president and Congress should share war-making powers because they feared putting too much power into the hands of the president alone. If Americans are going to die in faraway places, then they should have a voice—through their elected representatives in Congress—in deciding when and where they will go.

CON

Congressional interference in military matters would do the country great harm. The United States must speak with one voice, and that voice must belong to the president—the only person with all the information needed to make urgent military decisions. Besides, if Congress strongly objects to the president's use of U.S. troops, it can bring them home by cutting off the money needed to pay for the president's decision.

Central America

Central America and the United States have been closely linked for more than 150 years. In 1823, President James Monroe declared that the United States would protect the nations of the Western Hemisphere from further European colonization. This pledge—known as the Monroe Doctrine—included the countries of Central America. Since then, U.S. interest in Central America has grown steadily. American businesses made large investments in the mines, plantations, and factories of Central America. Congress sent billions of dollars in aid to help Central Americans build roads, schools, and hospitals. And several times the United States intervened militarily in Central America to protect American businesses and friendly governments.

American involvement in Central America has helped bring about some changes in the region. For example, U.S. forces invaded Panama in 1989 to oust military leader Manuel Noriega and bring him to the United States to stand trial on drug trafficking charges. Noriega was replaced by a democratically elected president. Also, democratic elections in Nicaragua ended a decade of rule by the procommunist Sandinistas, as Violeta Chamorro, the U.S.-backed candidate, won the presidency.

However, problems still remain in Central America. Poverty is widespread throughout the region. The economies of Panama and Nicaragua have been hurt by earlier U.S. economic sanctions, and civil war in El Salvador has continued for more than ten years. Against this backdrop, President George Bush and Congress must decide how the United States can best deal with a region that some policymakers consider "our own backyard."

Key Questions

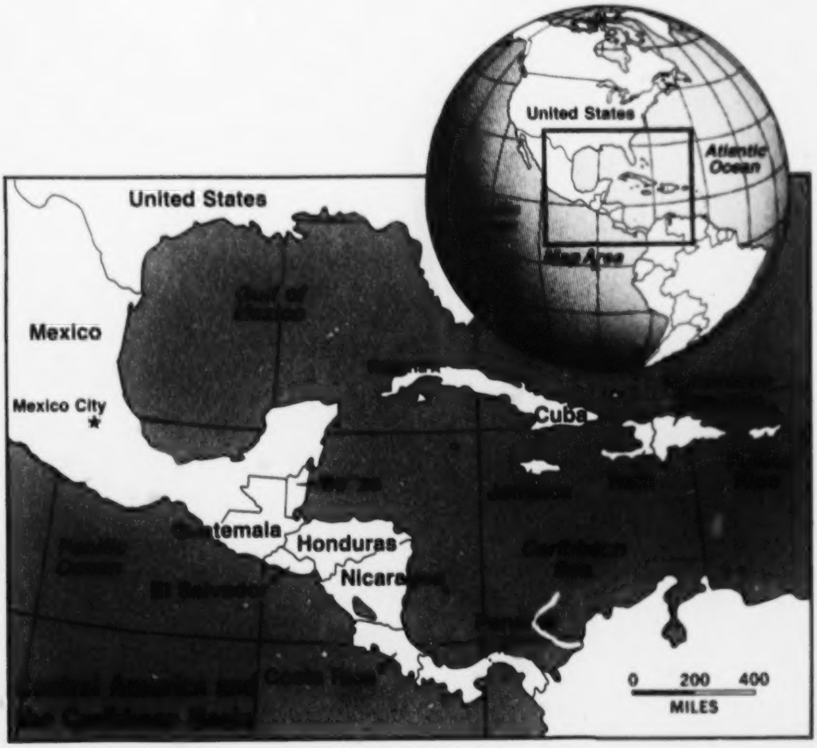
- Does the United States have the right to intervene in Central America?
- Should the United States emphasize military aid—rather than economic aid—to Central America?
- Should the United States give aid to El Salvador?

Background

Cuba and the Countries of Central America

Cuba. Cuba is not part of Central America, but it has had a tremendous impact on the region. The 1959 communist revolution in Cuba and the country's defiance of the United States have inspired revolutionary groups in Central America.

During the first half of this century, Cuba was almost a U.S. colony—the playground of America's rich. But most Cubans lived in extreme


United States
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poverty. The government of pro-American dictator Fulgencio Batista, who ruled from 1952 until 1959, was harsh and corrupt and set the stage for Fidel Castro's takeover in 1959. Leftists quickly came to dominate Castro's government, instituting a program of economic and social change. Many of Castro's opponents were imprisoned or killed. Some 700,000 of them fled to the United States in the first years of the Castro government.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Fidel Castro, leader of Cuba since 1959, was the first revolutionary in the Caribbean Basin to successfully challenge U.S. dominance of the region.

By 1960, Castro's belligerent anti-Americanism and his growing ties to the Soviet Union had seriously strained relations between the United States and Cuba. When Castro seized American assets in Cuba, President Dwight D. Eisenhower retaliated by stopping trade with Cuba.

Two crises completed the break with Cuba. When President John F. Kennedy took office in 1961, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was already training a group of anti-Castro refugees to invade Cuba. In April of that year, more than 1,200 anti-Castro Cubans landed at the Bay of Pigs, ninety miles south of Havana. But Castro's superior forces quickly crushed the invaders. Then in 1962, the United States learned that the Soviets had based nuclear missiles in Cuba. President Kennedy placed U.S. military forces on alert and blockaded the island until the missiles were removed.

Today, Cuba is a close ally of the Soviet Union and receives approximately $4 billion annually in Soviet aid. The United States maintains that Cuba supports revolution in Central America by supplying military equipment to procommunist groups in the region.

Guatemala. Since 1954, assassinations and political violence have been the norm in Guatemala. The occasional elections were subject to widespread fraud by the government in power. On March 7, 1982, the presidential election was won by General Angel Ambal Guevara, the handpicked successor of the former dictator, Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia. Many people suspected that Guevara won the election by fraud.

Two weeks after the election, Guevara was overthrown in a military coup. His successor, General Efrain Rios Montt, was in turn overthrown eighteen months later and replaced by another army general, Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores. In 1985, the Guatemalan people elected a civilian president, Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo.

Guatemalans hoped that President Cerezo would encourage social reform and end political violence. But Cerezo refused to prosecute any army officers for past murders or political crimes. In response to continued reports of repression and murder by the armed forces, the United States refuses to send military aid to Guatemala.

El Salvador. Most of El Salvador is divided between the very rich and the very poor. Until recently, more than 85 percent of the tillable land belonged to 5 percent of all the landowning families. The wealthiest of these—known as the fourteen families—were closely aligned with right-wing military officers who ruled El Salvador for nearly fifty years.

In October 1979, the United States backed a bloodless coup by moderate military officers who intended to take power away from the fourteen families and the military and establish a reform-oriented civilian government. By March 1980, the civilian government, controlled by Jose Napoleon Duarte's Christian Democratic Party, had decreed the Basic Law of Agrarian Reform. This decree established a program to break up the large and medium-sized estates, organize agricultural cooperatives, and give land to tenant farmers.

But some leftist members of the new government wanted the large estates broken up immediately and left the government in protest. Their departure touched off a wave of demonstrations followed by armed rebellion. Meanwhile, right-wing extremists opposed to the government's land reform policy organized "death squads" that murdered and terrorized those who opposed them. Many military officers and soldiers were accused of joining the death squads. The Duarte government was caught between the left- and right-wing forces.

El Salvador's ongoing civil war has taken a heavy toll. More than 70,000 people, mostly civilians, have been killed, and nearly one million Salvadorans have been displaced. Many live in exile or in refugee camps.

Elections for a constituent assembly—a legislative body similar to the U.S. Congress—were held in 1988. The right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (known as the ARENA party) won a majority of the assembly's seats. Critics have accused ARENA of blocking land reforms and encouraging death squads. In 1989, Duarte's Christian Democrats lost the presidential election to ARENA's Alfredo Cristiani. Most leftist groups refused to participate in the presidential election, and many of them disrupted the voting by keeping people away from the polls.

AP/Wide World Photos

Alfredo Cristiani was elected president of El Salvador in 1989. Some U.S. experts fear that Cristiani may reverse the economic and political reforms of the former Duarte government and that other members of his party will encourage right-wing death squads. His government also faces the threat of communist guerrillas who have been fighting the government for more than ten years.

Honduras. Despite a weak economy and the turmoil of its neighbors, Honduras has remained relatively quiet. Some officials attribute this stability to the democratically elected civilian president, Jose Azcona Hoya, but others believe that stability in Honduras is due to a strong American presence there.

The United States has promised to defend Honduras in case of attack. Since 1983, there have been more than 1,000 U.S. troops permanently stationed there. The U.S. Army has also built airfields and bases for possible use by U.S. troops and has established training facilities for the Honduran army. In addition, the United States used Honduras as a base for thousands of Nicaraguan *contras* fighting the Sandinista government during the 1980s.

Nicaragua. In 1909, the United States sent a naval force to intervene in Nicaragua after two Americans were executed. U.S. marines stayed in Nicaragua off and on until 1933. Before leaving, the marines trained General Anastasio Somoza Garcia to lead a national guard. Somoza used the national guard to assassinate guerrilla leader Augusto Sandino, overthrow liberal President Juan Batista Sacassa, and establish a military dictatorship. During the next forty-five years, three Somozas ruled Nicaragua—Anastasio Somoza and his two sons, Luis Somoza Debayle and Anastasio Somoza Debayle. The Somozas were so undemocratic and corrupt that, by 1978, many Nicaraguan peasants, business leaders, and members of the middle class refused to support the Somoza regime.

The Sandinistas. On July 20, 1979, after a two-year civil war, the Somoza regime was overthrown by a popular opposition movement made up of a procommunist group—the Sandinista National Liberation Front—and several other political factions representing both the poor and the middle class. A new Government of National Reconstruction was formed. Although the Sandinistas played a major role, the government also included representatives of the private business sector and the middle class. The new government said it would spurn "American-style" capitalism and "Soviet-style" communism and follow a third way: a part-socialist and part-capitalist economy with political pluralism—many political groups instead of just one.

The Sandinista government maintained close ties to the Soviet Union and Cuba and received billions of dollars in economic and military aid from communist nations. In response to Nicaragua's procommunist government, the United

"Latin" and "Central" America

"Central America" is the term used to describe the countries north of South America and south of Mexico. These countries include Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. "Latin America," in general, refers to countries in the Western Hemisphere where the people speak Spanish, Portugese, and French—languages that stem from Latin. However, not all of Latin America is truly "Latin." For instance, Belize was a British colony and English is its official language.

States enacted a trade embargo against the Sandinistas and backed the antigovernment rebels, known as the *contras*.

In 1989, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega agreed to a regional peace plan in which the *contra* forces would be disbanded if his government held democratic elections. These elections were held in 1990. Ortega lost the election to the U.S.-backed opposition candidate, Violeta Chamorro. She faces the task of strengthening an economy damaged by war. The annual inflation rate in Nicaragua was more than 30,000 percent when Chamorro became president.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

***Violeta Chamorro became president of Nicaragua after democratic elections in 1990. One of her main goals is to rebuild the Nicaraguan economy, which was weakened by years of war between the former Sandinista government and the U.S.-backed* contras.**

Costa Rica. Costa Rica has been a model of democracy in Central America. For the most part, Costa Rica has held open, free elections since 1889. In the past forty years, Costa Rica has held ten presidential elections and only twice was the candidate of the party in power returned to office.

Costa Rica's economy has been hurt by the political unrest in Central America. During the Nicaraguan conflict, Nicaraguan soldiers sometimes crossed Costa Rica's borders to pursue *contra* rebels. At times, Nicaraguan troops fired on the Costa Rican Civil Guard, a civilian patrol that protects cities and border areas. Costa Ricans claim that the situation in Nicaragua has discouraged foreign investment and tourism in their country. In addition, refugees from Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala have placed a heavy burden on Costa Rica's educational and health care systems.

Panama. Panama proclaimed its independence from Colombia in 1903 and then signed a treaty with the United States to complete the Panama Canal. Under the terms of this treaty, the United States controlled the canal even though it was in Panamanian territory. This arrangement continued until 1979, when the United States agreed to gradually give total control of the canal to Panama by the year 2000.

In 1984, Dr. Nicholas Aridito Barletta was elected president in Panama's first elections after sixteen years of military-controlled governments. Panama's military commander at the time, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, demanded Barletta's resignation. Barletta stepped down and was replaced by the first vice president, Eric Arturo Delvalle. In 1987, President Delvalle tried to replace Noriega. However, the National Assembly—a body similar to the U.S. Congress but controlled by Noriega's supporters—dismissed Delvalle. Noriega then appointed a new president, Manuel Solis Palma, and promised to hold new elections two years later.

Noriega's continual disregard for Panamanian democracy forced the United States to take action against Panama. For several years, the U.S. government tried to oust Noriega from power. In 1988, two federal grand juries indicted Noriega on drug smuggling charges. Later that year the U.S. government imposed economic sanctions against Panama. U.S. banks were forbidden to release money to the Panamanian government, and the United States suspended trade preferences, foreign aid, and fees due to Panama for public services such as police protection, street lighting, and road repairs near the canal. In late 1988, the Reagan administration tried unsuccessfully to negotiate an agreement with Noriega, whereby Noriega would have resigned as military commander and the United States would have dropped the drug charges. Then in 1989 Noriega held presidential elections, as promised. However, Noriega's candidate lost to his opponent, Guillermo Endara, by a margin of three-to-one. Nevertheless, Noriega ignored the election results, cancelled the vote, and installed his hand-picked president, Francisco Rodriguez.

AP/Wide World Photos

General Manuel Noriega is now a U.S. prisoner facing drug trafficking charges in Florida. He was ousted from power in Panama after a U.S. invasion in 1989.

Frustrated with Noriega's refusal to leave Panama, President Bush sent U.S. troops into Panama in 1989. Noriega turned himself over to U.S. officials after several days in hiding and was brought to Florida to be tried for drug trafficking. Guillermo Endara announced that he was now president of Panama, the office to which he had been elected before Noriega cancelled the vote. But Endara inherited an economy crippled by U.S. sanctions—unemployment was high, factory and farm production down, and debt payments overdue.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

In 1823, President James Monroe announced that the United States would regard any attempt by European countries to reestablish colonies in the Americas, or to intervene in the affairs of the Americas, as an act of hostility. This pronouncement, known as the Monroe Doctrine, demonstrated U.S. resolve to defend American interests in Latin America.

U.S. Foreign Policy

Monroe Doctrine (1823). In the early 1800s, many Spanish colonies in Central America fought for and achieved independence. In 1823, President James Monroe informed the world that the United States would regard any European attempt to reestablish colonies in the Americas or to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere as a hostile act. However, since the time of the Monroe Doctrine, U.S. policy in the region has changed.

- Spanish-American War (1898). The United States fought the Spanish-American War in part to help Cuba achieve independence from Spain but also to gain influence in Cuba. In 1901, Congress passed the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States access to naval bases on the island and authorized U.S. intervention in Cuba "when necessary."
- Dollar Diplomacy (1912). President William Howard Taft said that U.S. interests in Central America could best be served by "substituting dollars for bullets." American businesses invested heavily in Central America and gained substantial influence over regional governments.

- Good Neighbor Policy (1933). President Franklin Roosevelt sought better relations with Central America through his "good neighbor policy." The United States pledged that it would cooperate politically and economically with Central America and would not intervene in any country's domestic affairs.
- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947). This treaty states that if an outside nation attacks any country in the Americas, other American nations are obligated to provide assistance.
- Anticommunist Interventions. After World War II, U.S. policy emphasized intervention to prevent communist regimes from gaining power anywhere in the Americas. Examples include U.S. involvement in the 1954 coup against reformist President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala and the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

U.S. Economic Aid to Central America. Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba in 1959 shocked the United States. American business and government leaders had taken for granted their control over Cuba and Central America. But a new element—communist insurgency—now threatened U.S. dominance.

To avoid another "Cuba," President Eisenhower proposed giving military and economic aid to Central America. He hoped the aid would help the poor and lessen the likelihood that they would support radical political change.

In the 1960s, President Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, an economic aid program that provided funds for roads, schools, hospitals, and water projects. But the aid did not put an end to social and economic inequalities in the region. Many Central Americans knew that great sums of money were being spent in their countries, but because of political corruption and government mismanagement, they saw little improvement in their own lives.

In 1982, Congress approved a new economic plan called the Caribbean Basin Initiative. This plan gave large amounts of economic aid to the countries of the Caribbean and Central America, special duty-free status to products made in the Caribbean, and tax incentives to American businesses that invested in the region. However, to participate, nations had to lower tariffs on American products and cooperate militarily with the United States.

Human Rights. During the mid-1970s, President Jimmy Carter and many liberal Democrats in Congress made human rights—rather than anticommunism—the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. President Carter said that no country "can claim that the mistreatment of its citizens is only its own business." He threatened to cut foreign aid to any country that continued to abuse its citizens and stopped military aid to El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

The Reagan Doctrine. In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan moved U.S. foreign policy initiatives away from emphasis on human rights and back toward containing communism in the Western Hemisphere. Reagan believed U.S. security interests were directly threatened by communists operating in Central America with the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union. To prevent communist rebels from gaining power, he believed the United States should strengthen its presence in the region and supply large amounts of economic and military aid to U.S. allies in Central America.

During the last three years of his presidency, President Reagan focused his attention on Nicaragua. In 1986, Congress approved $100 million in

AP/Wide World Photos

Former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias Sanchez was the main architect of the Guatemala Accord, a peace plan for Central America. His efforts to bring an end to war in the region earned Arias the Nobel Peace Prize in 1987.

military and nonlethal "humanitarian" aid for the *contras*. But Congress rejected requests for more military aid in 1988 and 1989, although it approved some humanitarian aid.

The Iran/*Contra* Affair. In November 1986, the Justice Department revealed that a White House staff member, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, had secretly sent millions of dollars to the *contras* in Nicaragua. According to reports, North had diverted profits from secret U.S. arms sales to Iran to the *contras*. This secret funding came at a time when Congress had banned U.S. aid to the *contras*. Further details revealed that between 1984 and 1986, administration officials had organized a secret network of private citizens and foreign government officials to give aid to the *contras*.

In 1989, criminal charges were brought against North and three others involved in the secret funding network. North (now retired from the marines) and former National Security Adviser John Poindexter were convicted of crimes related to the Iran/*contra* affair.

Current Issues

Intervention in Central America. The United States has a history of intervention in Central America. Since the end of the 1800s to the present, the United States has given economic aid to some countries in the region, encouraged U.S. businesses to invest there, and intervened militarily. Some Central American countries accused the United States of virtually controlling their policies for the benefit of U.S. interests.

Some Americans believe the United States is justified in intervening in Central America when U.S. interests are at stake. They say that because these countries often receive U.S. military and economic aid, the United States should be able to influence some of the policies of the recipient countries. Supporters of U.S. intervention also claim that American involvement in Central America has been beneficial. Economic aid has improved education, agriculture, and social programs in many countries. Supporters of U.S. involvement in Central America also credit American actions with strengthening democracy in Nicaragua, Panama, and El Salvador. They claim that having friendly, democratic governments in Central America is important because the United States cannot afford to have hostile, procommunist governments in nations so close to its own borders.

Other people claim the United States intervenes too frequently in Central America. They believe that U.S. activities in Central America do not allow those countries to make their own decisions and that the United States often imposes its own will on the people living in Central America. These critics of U.S. policy point to Panama as an example of excessive U.S. interference. They claim the United States virtually created the nation of Panama so it could build the canal, exercised almost complete control over the canal since its creation, and in 1989 toppled its government with thousands of U.S. troops. Critics also argue that the Central American nations should be allowed to select their own leaders without U.S. interference. They point to Noriega and Somoza as examples of U.S.-supported leaders who turned out to be very undemocratic. Some critics claim that U.S. concern about communism in Central America is exaggerated and that this concern is used as an excuse to intervene when it is in the best interest of the United States. They argue that the nations of Central America are too weak militarily and economically to threaten the United States.

Polls about Panama

After the U.S. invasion of Panama, a Gallup Organization poll found that only 14 percent of Americans favored giving Panama control of the Panama Canal, even though Manuel Noriega had been removed from power. Thirty-nine percent favored waiting until the U.S. government was satisfied with the new government, and 39 percent favored maintaining U.S. control of the canal forever.

Military and Economic Aid. While American armed forces have been used occasionally in

Central America, U.S. involvement more often consists of military and economic aid. Many Central American countries have received both kinds of aid because their governments are threatened by leftist groups and by economic problems such as inflation, debt, and poverty. U.S. policymakers disagree on which type of aid is most useful to Central America.

Some experts say that the United States should emphasize economic aid to Central America. They claim that most conflicts in Central America are caused by poverty and social injustice and that military aid does not solve these root problems. Instead, supporters of economic aid urge the United States to provide money for housing, industry,

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Anti-Sandinista rebels—known as* contras*—fought the government in Nicaragua for seven years. In 1989, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega and the presidents of the other Central American nations agreed to disband the* contras *after Nicaraguan elections in 1990.

health care, education, agriculture, and energy projects. They contend that economic aid can help speed industrial development and that when Central American countries can provide their people with jobs, food, education, and health care, their citizens will stop joining communist groups. They also argue that economic aid is needed now more than ever, especially in Panama and Nicaragua, where several years of U.S. sanctions have destroyed their economies.

Other U.S. policymakers say that military aid is more effective than economic aid. They claim that economic aid cannot fight the communist groups operating in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. They argue that economic aid is wasted when bridges and buildings are destroyed, crops are burned, and food aid is diverted from the poor by antigovernment groups. Supporters of military aid say that military aid must come first to convince the communists that they cannot win. They say that economic aid will be effective only when the violence has ended. Supporters of this view point to El Salvador as a country that needs more military aid.

Arms to El Salvador

According to the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, the United States gave $700 a minute to El Salvador in military aid during the 1980s.

Aid to El Salvador. El Salvador's former president, Jose Napoleon Duarte, was an ally of the United States. His government received U.S. economic and military aid to strengthen El Salvador's economy and fight communist rebels. During the 1980s, the United States sent El Salvador $4.4 billion.

In 1988, a right-wing political party, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (or ARENA) won a majority of seats in the Salvadoran legislature, and in 1989 the ARENA candidate for president, Alfredo Cristiani, was elected. Some leaders of ARENA have been linked with death squads and anti-American activities in the past. Today, some members of Congress say the United States should cut aid to the ARENA-controlled government.

Members of Congress who favor cutting aid say that the United States should not support the ARENA government because some of its leaders blame the United States for El Salvador's failure to defeat communist rebels in their country and have called for a withdrawal of U.S. military advisers. These lawmakers say that the United States should not support a government whose members may be linked to the death squads. Many U.S. officials think the new government of El Salvador will halt the economic and human rights reforms that were slowly producing some peace and stability.

Officials who favor continuing aid to El Salvador say that the country needs help to strengthen its economy and defeat communist guerrillas. Supporters of aid to El Salvador say that the Salvadoran economy would collapse without it, causing even more violence and civil war. They claim that aid to El Salvador helps to maintain a democratic government, thus preventing communists from gaining control.

Outlook

Civil wars, revolutions, poverty, and unjust economic and political systems have plagued Central America for many years. The United States has a long history of involvement in the region. American businesses have invested heavily in Central America. The U.S. government has sent economic and military aid to the region, supported government coups, and even used its own troops to intervene. Today, U.S. policymakers see new signs of democracy, particularly in Nicaragua and Panama. Yet communist groups persist in the region, particularly in El Salvador. Members of Congress and President Bush must now agree on what role the United States should play in Central America.

The Debate Central America

Does the United States have the Right to Intervene in Central America?

PRO	CON
The U.S. government has the right to intervene if American businesses, citizens, or troops in Central America are threatened. When the United States gives aid to these nations, it should have the right to determine how the aid is used. Besides, U.S. involvement—money, arms, and military intervention—can help fight communism in the area. U.S. actions have contributed to the defeat of a procommunist government in Nicaragua and to improved health and economic conditions in Central America.	The United States should not interfere in the affairs of other countries just because it is more powerful. The United States does not have the right to dictate economic policies to other nations, nor should it use U.S. troops to overthrow governments it does not like. Some of the leaders that the United States has supported have turned out to be undemocratic. The U.S. government should let each Central American nation runs it own affairs without interference.

Should the United States Emphasize Military Aid—Rather Than Economic Aid—to Central America?

PRO	CON
Economic aid is fine, but it cannot fight armed communist groups. Economic aid is wasted when bridges are destroyed, food is diverted from the poor, and crops are burned. The time to rebuild Central America is after the communists are convinced that they cannot achieve victory.	Military aid does not address the problems of poverty and social injustice that have caused the conflicts in Central America. Peasants will continue to join communist groups until Central American governments begin to cure their social and economic problems. The United States should provide constructive—not destructive—support to these governments.

Should the United States Give Aid to El Salvador?

PRO	CON
El Salvador needs U.S. aid to fight communists and strengthen its war-torn economy. The United States may not like El Salvador's current leaders, but they were democratically elected by the people. U.S. aid to El Salvador helps to maintain a democratic government in El Salvador, thus preventing communists from gaining control of the country. Without economic aid, the Salvadoran economy would collapse, causing even more violence and civil war.	Aid to El Salvador should be stopped. The new government is controlled by the Nationalist Republican Alliance, which has been linked to right-wing death squads. Observers of the new government expect it to halt the economic and human rights reforms that were slowly producing some peace and stability. The United States should not support leaders who kill their political opponents and oppose American involvement in their country.

The Middle East

On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, a leader of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, announced the creation of Israel in the territory of Palestine. In neighboring countries, Arab leaders denounced the formation of Israel. They believed that the Jews had stolen land that rightfully belonged to Palestinian Arabs. At midnight, Arab soldiers invaded Israel.

Since that first Arab-Israeli war in 1948, the Israelis and the Arabs have fought five wars. Arab leaders believe that the Palestinians should have their own nation on land currently held by Israel. The Palestinians have resisted Israeli rule and have attacked Israeli military and civilian targets. Israel insists that a Palestinian nation cannot exist without Israeli control.

The U.S. government has tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a peace settlement in the region since an Arab-Israeli war in 1973. However, some Americans believe that recent events may finally lead to a settlement. In 1988, Palestinian officials announced the creation of a separate Palestinian nation on land occupied by Israel. They agreed to stop terrorist attacks, recognized Israel's right to exist, and accepted the United Nations' (UN) proposals to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although the United States, a strong supporter of Israel, does not recognize the new Palestinian state, U.S. officials held their first talks with Palestinian leaders to discuss new peace proposals. Foreign policy experts wonder how much the United States can and should do to help bring peace to the Middle East.

Key Questions

- **Should the United States support an independent Palestinian state?**
- **Should the United States insist that Israel return the occupied territories?**
- **Should the United States support an international peace conference on the Middle East?**

Background

The Major Players in the Middle East

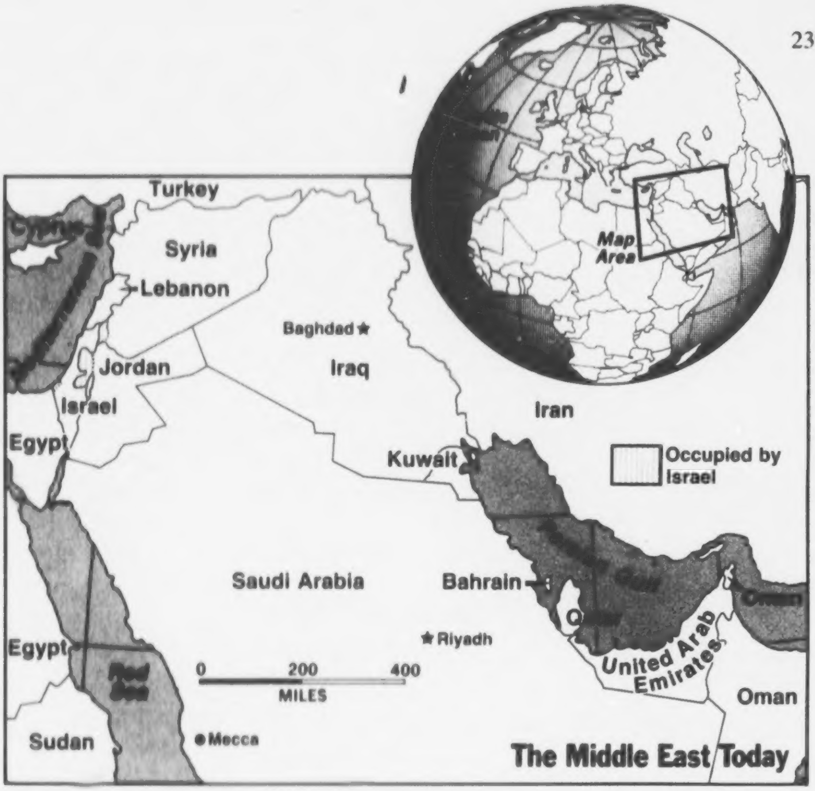
Israel. Israel was formed from part of the Palestine Mandate—the territory of Palestine mandated to Great Britain by the League of Nations after World War I. Palestine then included areas now comprising Jordan, Israel, the west bank of the Jordan River (the West Bank), and the Gaza Strip.

Modern Israel grew out of Zionism, a political movement founded in 1897 to establish a Jewish homeland free from anti-Semitic persecution. Twenty years later, in the Balfour Declaration, the British government agreed in principle to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Tens of thousands of Jews then began immigrating to Palestine, joining Jews who had lived there for centuries. While the Balfour Declaration was a significant step, the major drive to establish a Jewish state grew out of the Holocaust—the attempted extermination of European Jews by the Nazis. Thousands of homeless survivors of the Holocaust went to Palestine after World War II. In 1947, the United Nations proposed that two states, one Arab and one Jewish, be created in the section of Palestine west of the Jordan River. On May 14, 1948, the Jewish state of Israel declared itself an independent nation.

The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize the new Israel. U.S. support for Israel was an outgrowth of American cultural and religious ties to Jews, the feeling of a moral obligation to help the Jews establish a homeland after the Holocaust, and the belief that the new Israeli government would be democratic. Today, the United States continues to look to Israel as its most reliable ally in the Middle East.

The Balfour Declaration

In 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour sent a letter to the leader of the British Zionists, Lord Rothschild. The letter, which became known as the Balfour Declaration, stated that Great Britain would support the establishment of a "national home" in Palestine for Jews if "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."


Turkey
Cyprus
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Map Area
Kuwait
Occupied by Israel
Persian Gulf
Saudi Arabia
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MILES
United Arab Emirates
Oman
Sudan
Mecca
The Middle East Today

Egypt. With more than 54 million people, Egypt is the most populous country in the Middle East. Modern Egypt was established in 1952, when King Farouk was overthrown and the Republic of Egypt was proclaimed. The key figure in the coup was Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, who became president in 1954. Nasser established close relations with the Soviet Union and attempted with little success to unify other Arab nations into a United Arab Republic by exploiting strong anti-Israeli feelings.

After Nasser died in 1970, Vice President Anwar el-Sadat became president and dramatically altered Egypt's policies. Sadat asked Soviet military advisers to leave in 1973, and in 1978 he became the first Arab leader to negotiate peace with Israel. Most Arab countries condemned Sadat, and many broke relations with Egypt. In

1981, a group of Moslem fundamentalists assassinated Sadat, and Vice President Muhammed Hosni Mubarak became president. Mubarak has cooled diplomatic relations with Israel in an effort to bring Egypt back into a position of Arab leadership. As a result, some Arab nations have renewed ties with Egypt.

Jordan. In 1921, Great Britain established the autonomous region of Transjordan from the eastern two-thirds of the Palestine Mandate. In 1946, Transjordan became an independent Arab kingdom. Three years later, Transjordan annexed much of the area on the west bank of the Jordan River and renamed itself Jordan. Since 1952, Jordan has been ruled by King Hussein, who has generally steered a moderate course between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, the United States has tried to increase its influence with King Hussein through arms sales and has encouraged him to enter into peace negotiations with Israel.

Syria. France controlled Syria from World War I until Syria gained its independence in 1946. In 1958, Syria united with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic (UAR). Egypt quickly became dominant, however, and in 1961 the Syrians withdrew from the UAR. During the next decade, Syria's government was highly unstable until General Hafez al-Assad came to power in 1970. Assad, who is still president, maintains close ties with the Soviet Union.

Lebanon. A French colony until 1945, Lebanon has a population composed of about 60 percent Moslems and 40 percent Christians. This population mix has made Lebanon more pro-Western than many of its neighbors, but it also has made Lebanon a powder keg. In the early 1970s, Lebanon exploded into civil war involving Christians,

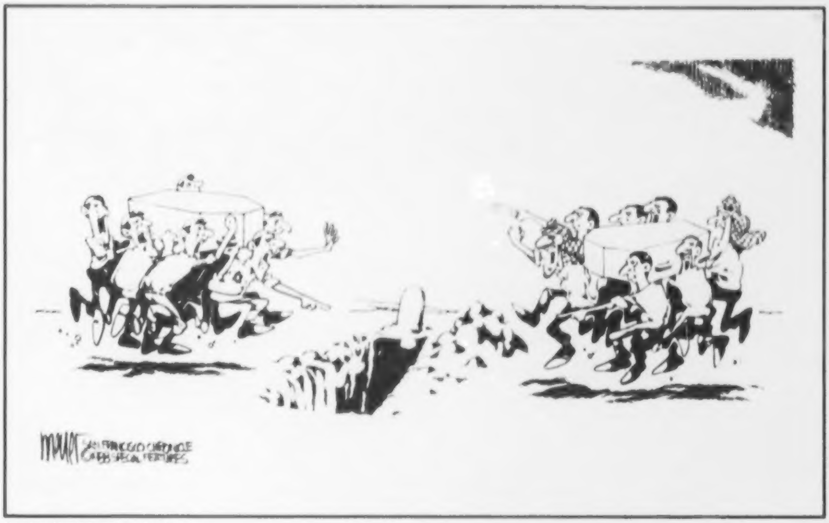
Department of Defense

After Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1983, President Reagan sent U.S. marines to Beirut to maintain peace. Many Arabs viewed the marines as intruders, and as a result, they were frequently attacked. Here, rescue workers sift through the rubble of the marine headquarters where 241 Americans died after the building was destroyed by a suicide bomber.

Moslems, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and Syrian "peacekeeping forces." In 1982, Israel became involved when it invaded southern Lebanon, ultimately taking much of the capital city of Beirut. Today, civil war still rages in Lebanon and has left much of the country and the economy in ruins.

Saudi Arabia. Occupying most of the Arabian peninsula, Saudi Arabia is one of the largest countries in the Middle East and contains the world's largest oil reserves. The United States considers Saudi Arabia a friend and a moderating force in the region. For these reasons, the United States has worked to maintain good relations with the Saudis and has sold them advanced military equipment.

The Palestinians. The Palestinians are a people without a homeland. In 1921, the British gave two-thirds of Palestine to a non-Palestinian, Arab king. This land became the kingdom of Jordan. When the western third of Palestine was partitioned after World War II, Egypt, Israel, and Jordan absorbed areas that were supposed to form a separate Palestinian state.



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Conflicts in the Middle East have affected approximately 6 million Palestinians. They are scattered throughout the region, many living in refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Other Palestinians have fled to Europe and North America.

In 1964, the PLO was formed to lead the struggle for a Palestinian state. The PLO has used both violence and diplomacy in its efforts to create a Palestinian homeland. In 1974, the United Nations granted the PLO observer status, which allows the PLO to participate as a non-voting member in the United Nations General Assembly.

Iraq. Located in the valley between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers where Western civilization was born, Iraq's capital, Baghdad, was long the center of Arab culture. From the seventeenth century until the end of World War I, the Ottoman Turks controlled Iraq. After World War I, Great Britain occupied Iraq under a League of Nations mandate. The British installed a king in 1932 but maintained strong influence over the government. In 1958, the king was overthrown in a military coup. The current Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, is not a military leader, although he is supported by his country's army. In 1980, Hussein ordered the army to attack its neighbor, Iran, to weaken that nation's revolution.

Iran. Iran is not an Arab country. Most Iranians are descendants of the Persians who ruled much of the Middle East in biblical times. From the end of World War II until 1979, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi ruled Iran. Pahlavi briefly lost power to nationalists in the early 1950s, but he was restored in a counterrevolution backed by the United States. The shah modernized his country with profits from an expanding oil industry. However, political opposition was not tolerated, and thousands of political prisoners were arrested and tortured. In 1979, revolutionaries gained power, and an exiled Shi'ite Moslem leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, became Iran's leader.

Under Khomeini, Iran was strongly anti-American and anti-Western. Khomeini condemned the United States for supporting the shah. He accused the United States of corrupting Iran by "westernizing" it, moving it away from strict Islamic observance, and alienating Iranians from their national identity.

When Khomeini died in 1989, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani became Iran's president. Some observers believe that Rafsanjani is more moderate than Khomeini and will be less antagonistic toward the United States.

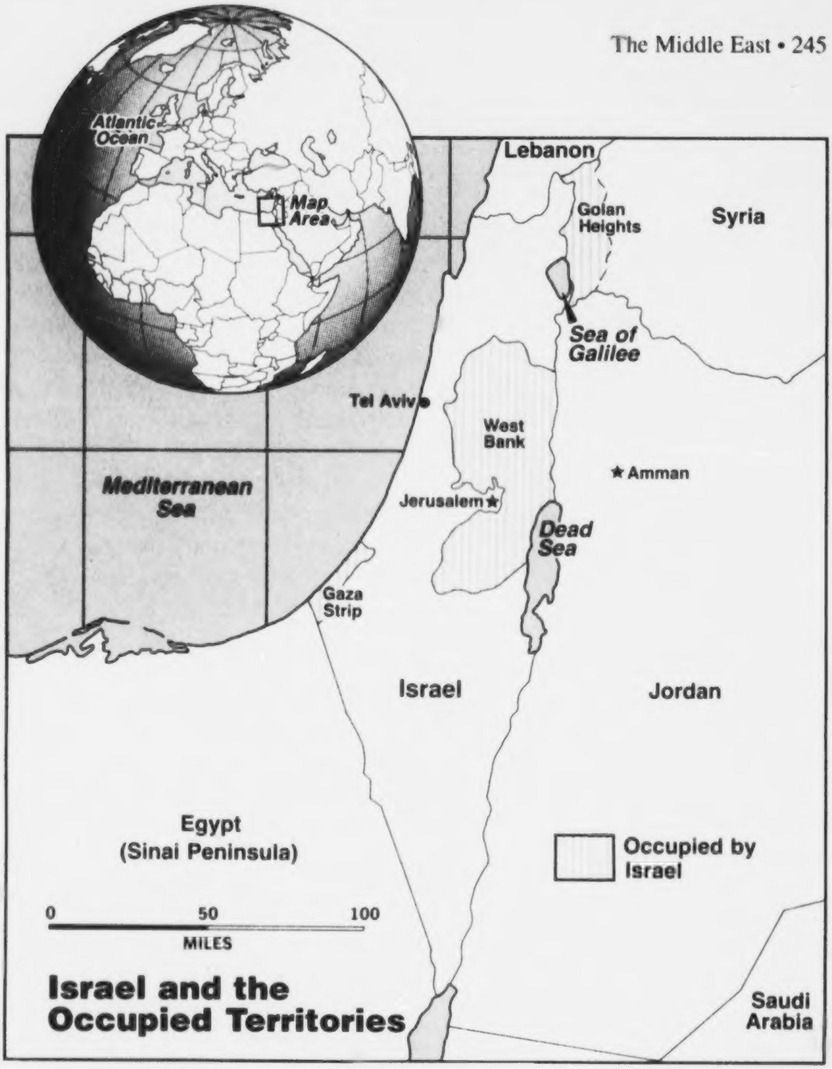
The Iran-Iraq War. In 1980, Iraq invaded Iran over a long-standing border dispute. The war lasted eight years and as many as 1 million people were killed. In August 1988, the two countries agreed to a cease fire and began to negotiate a peace settlement.

Officially, the United States remained neutral in the war. However, President Ronald Reagan sent American warships to the Persian Gulf to escort oil tankers and protect them from attack by Iran and Iraq. U.S. warships exchanged fire several times with Iranian naval vessels. The Reagan administration also secretly sold weapons to Iran in 1985 and 1986, hoping to trade the arms for American hostages who were being held by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon. When details of the secret deals were uncovered, many members of Congress noted that the arms sales violated the government's policy against dealing with nations suspected of supporting terrorism. The resulting controversy may have weakened American influence in the Middle East.

Conflict in the Middle East

Establishment of Israel (1948). On May 15, 1948, when the state of Israel came into being, soldiers from Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq crossed into Israel, and the first Arab-Israeli war began. The cease-fire lines of that war became Israel's tentative border. Since then, Israel and the surrounding area have been rocked by five major wars:

- The Sinai Campaign (1956). With help from France and Great Britain, Israel invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula in 1956. Israel occupied the region for several months until the United States persuaded Israel to withdraw its troops.
- The Six-Day War (1967). Fearing that Egypt was preparing to attack, Israel launched a surprise invasion on June 5, 1967, defeating Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in what came to be known as the Six-Day War. Israel captured the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, the west bank



Israel and the Occupied Territories

Atlantic Ocean
Map Area
Lebanon
Golan Heights
Syria
Sea of Galilee
Tel Aviv
West Bank
Amman
Mediterranean Sea
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Gaza Strip
Israel
Jordan
Egypt (Sinai Peninsula)
Occupied by Israel
0
50
100
MILES
Saudi Arabia

of the Jordan River, and the eastern half of Jerusalem. Except for the Sinai, which was given back to Egypt in 1982, Israel still controls these territories.

- The War of Attrition (1969-70). In April 1969, Egypt began firing artillery shells at Israel. For the next sixteen months, the two countries fought a "war of attrition" with artillery and airplanes. More people were killed in this undeclared war than in the Six-Day War.

- The October War (1973). Determined to regain land lost in the Six-Day War, Syria and Egypt attacked Israel on October 6, 1973, the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur. Although Israel won the war, it suffered politically both at home and abroad. Domestically, the government lost credibility because of the high number of Israeli casualties. Internationally, some supporters of Israel remained neutral under pressure from oil-rich Arab nations.
- The Invasion of Lebanon (1982). In June 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon in an attempt to drive out PLO forces based there. The United States and other nations sent troops to Beirut to maintain peace, but American troops sustained heavy casualties. In 1984, U.S. troops withdrew to ships offshore. Since then, Israel has pulled most of its forces back to a twelve-mile buffer zone along the border; Syrian troops occupy much of northern Lebanon; and the rest of the country has been partitioned between warring Christian, Druze, and various Sunni and Shi'ite Moslem factions.

UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. During the 1960s and 1970s, the United Nations adopted two resolutions attempting to establish the principles for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East. In 1967, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, calling for an end to all declarations of war and for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories captured from the Arabs. In addition, Israel and the Arab states were to respect their neighbors' independence and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The resolution also called for a "just settlement" of the Palestinian refugee problem. UN Security Council Resolution 338, passed in 1973, states that the Resolution 242 proposals should be pursued through negotiations.

Resolutions 242 and 338 are supposed to be a mutually accepted basis for peace in the Middle East. However, much of the language is vague and open to differing interpretations. In addition, the atmosphere of mutual mistrust—especially between Israel and the PLO, Syria, and Jordan—has limited the effectiveness of the resolutions.

Egyptian-Israeli Peace. On November 19, 1977, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat became the first Arab leader to visit Israel. Sadat's trip helped the Israeli and Egyptian peoples overcome some of the psychological barriers of fear, hatred, and suspicion between them. However, the rest of the Arab world condemned Sadat for negotiating separately with Israel. American efforts to persuade other Arab nations to cooperate in peace talks were unsuccessful.

In 1978, Sadat met with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and U.S. President Jimmy Carter at the Camp David presidential retreat in

The White House

After the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin clasp hands. The agreement led to an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and raised hopes that the Arab-Israeli conflict could be resolved.

Maryland. After twelve days of negotiations, they agreed to the Camp David Accords—a framework for peace in the Middle East. An Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty followed in 1979, formally ending the two countries' thirty-one-year conflict. The treaty established diplomatic relations, trade, tourism, and other exchanges. In addition, Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in stages, and Egypt opened the Suez Canal to Israeli use. Egypt and Israel invited Jordan and Palestinian representatives to participate in a regional peace settlement, but they declined.

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Since Israel was established in 1948, most Palestinians have fled Israeli-held areas to neighboring Arab territory. Many Palestinians have vowed to fight the Israeli appropriation of their land. They hope to destroy Israel and establish a country of their own in its place. Other Palestinians accept that Israel is too firmly in place to be eliminated. Tired of the ravages of war, they would like to negotiate a peace treaty with the Israelis to settle the issue of a Palestinian homeland.

In December 1987, many Palestinians began protesting the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They wanted the Israelis to leave and to allow them to establish a Palestinian homeland. More than 700 Palestinians have been killed since the protests began. In other developments, Jordan turned over administrative responsibilities for the West Bank Palestinians to the PLO in 1988. Until then, the government of Jordan had issued Jordanian passports to Palestinians, allowed Palestinians to study at its universities, operated schools on the West Bank, provided development aid, and allowed West Bank representatives in Parliament. Jordan also cut its $1.3 billion development plan for the West Bank, dissolved the Palestinian Parliament, and stated its support for a Palestinian state. Some experts believe that Jordan's decisions were intended to strengthen the PLO's claim to be the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. Several months later, the PLO declared an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The United States refused to recognize the Palestinian state or talk to PLO leaders until they 1) recognized Israel's right to exist, 2) accepted UN resolutions 242 and 338, and 3) renounced terrorism. In December 1988, the United States announced that PLO leader Yasir Arafat had met the U.S. conditions and that the U.S. government would begin discussions with the PLO in an attempt to negotiate a peace settlement. However, the United States has made little progress in its negotiations with the Palestinians, with the other Arab nations, or with Israel. Israeli leaders have been unable to agree among themselves on a settlement plan.

Recognition of Israel. The modern state of Israel is based on the 1947 United Nations partition plan, which proposed that two nations—one Arab and one Jewish—be formed from one territory, Palestine. Most nations believed that the Jews needed a homeland after the Nazis had attempted a mass extermination of European Jews in the 1930s and 1940s. And although it had been many centuries since Jews controlled Palestine, many Jews believed that the land was rightfully theirs because God had given it to them in biblical times.

Few Arabs supported the establishment of Israel. The land that the Arabs and their ancestors had occupied for centuries was suddenly given to another nation. Many Arabs continue to view Israel as an intruder and the nation that took away the Palestinians' ancestral home. They hold Israel responsible for the death and destruction that has plagued the region for nearly half a century.

A Land of Immigrants

Like the United States, Israel is a country founded by immigrants from many different backgrounds. Since its creation, Israel has attracted 1.5 million newcomers from 100 countries. Fifty-seven percent of the nation's Jewish population was born in Israel. Twenty-four percent came from Europe and the Western hemisphere, and 19 percent immigrated from Asia and Africa.

Most of the international community accepts Israel's right to exist. Until neighboring Arab states recognize the legitimacy of Israel, a peace settlement is unlikely. So far, Egypt is the only Arab nation that recognizes Israel. In 1988, Yasir Arafat, the leader of the PLO, declared that his organization recognized Israel's right to exist. Other Arab leaders have not been willing to take similar steps because they fear the consequences. Within three years after Egypt recognized Israel, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was assassinated by a radical faction that had opposed his policies toward the Jewish state.

Current Issues

Establishment of a Palestinian Homeland. Some Palestinians believe that Palestine's original borders should be restored and the Israeli government eliminated. Others would accept a Palestinian state on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. However, a state on the West Bank may not survive on its own. The area lacks a strong agricultural or industrial base and has few natural resources. Some diplomats have proposed that a Palestinian state be established in federation with another country (perhaps with Jordan or Israel). But all of these proposals present problems. Many Palestinians resent the idea of relying on another nation for their economic and military survival. And some Palestinians would be unsatisfied with anything less than independence and might continue to fight Israel. Another problem has been deciding who should represent the Palestinians in peace talks with Israel.

Who Speaks for the Palestinians? Since 1964, the PLO has served as a sort of "government in exile," providing a political voice for the Palestinian people. Although the United Nations recognizes the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians, the government of Israel considers the PLO to be a terrorist organization. Israeli leaders point out that the PLO's charter calls for the destruction of Israel; therefore, Israel refuses to participate in any negotiations with the PLO.

For years, peace negotiations in the Middle East have been deadlocked because Israel will not accept the PLO's authority to speak for the Palestinians. When PLO chairman Yasir Arafat recently accepted Israel's right to exist, some members of the PLO denounced the decision. They claimed that Arafat did not speak for all Palestinians and that they would not feel bound by any peace settlement negotiated by him. Such disagreements within the PLO cause some world leaders to doubt Arafat's ability to negotiate a settlement that would be acceptable to all his people.

Israeli-Occupied Territories. Another obstacle to peace is Israel's occupation of territories cap-

In late 1987, Palestinians living in the occupied territories began protesting the presence of Israeli soldiers in their neighborhoods. The Israeli army used extensive force to quell the protests.

AP/Wide World Photos

tured from Arab countries. The Arab nations maintain that Israel's continued occupation of the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank violates international law that forbids nations from gaining territory by military force. The international community supports the Arab position and has incorporated it into the United Nations' plan for peace.

Israel's occupation of the West Bank is particularly controversial. Israeli leaders maintain that the West Bank is crucial to the defense of Israel. They say that the Israeli military cannot afford to lose control over the mountains that overlook Israeli coastal cities just a few miles away. The Israeli government maintains that it will hold the occupied territories until the signing of a comprehensive peace settlement that guarantees the long-term safety of Israel.

More than 70,000 Jewish nationalists have settled in the West Bank. Recently, Israeli presence there became even more controversial after Arab youths began attacking Israeli police and soldiers, using stones as weapons. Many Palestinian adults, frustrated with Israel's refusal to withdraw from the occupied territories, soon joined the protests. Israeli forces used violent means to quell the protests, including shooting some protesters.

Critics of Israel's use of violence believe that the Israelis are now acting like the very persecutors from whom they once fled. Critics argue that such tactics turn international sympathy away from Israel toward the Palestinians. They say that Israel must stop the violence if it wishes to find a peaceful solution to the problems on the West Bank.

Those who approve of Israel's suppression of the riots argue that similar "iron-fist" tactics previously worked in holding back the wave of Arab protests that rocked the Gaza Strip in the 1970s. They believe that the protests on the West Bank

Palestinians in the Occupied Territories

According to the DataBase Project on Palestinian Human Rights, 10 percent of Palestinian males in the occupied territories have been arrested at least once since 1980.

are not spontaneous attacks led by children but are actually being orchestrated by the PLO. Supporters of Israel's harsh tactics say that Israel must demonstrate to the world that it will fight PLO terrorism with whatever means necessary.

The Role of the Superpowers. The presence of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Middle East has complicated the peace process even further. Both superpowers are competing for allies in this region and are trying to undercut the influence of the other. Both provide a seemingly unlimited supply of military aid to nations in the Middle East. As a result, the Americans and the Soviets help sustain the Arab-Israeli conflict by resupplying nations that otherwise would have lost the ability to fight years ago.

However, because they give huge amounts of aid to their allies in the Middle East, the United States and the Soviet Union may be in a position to persuade the Israelis and the Arabs to negotiate a peace settlement. Recently, Soviet officials met with leaders in the Middle East to discuss Arab-Israeli peace negotiations. The United States has tried actively to mediate peace settlements with some success, particularly after the 1973 war, when President Richard Nixon negotiated the limited withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Sinai; and in 1979, when President Carter helped arrange the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. But subsequent American peace initiatives have been less successful.

The PLO has called for an international conference to negotiate a final peace settlement. PLO chairman Arafat would like the members of the UN Security Council to negotiate an agreement with Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli leaders. The Soviet Union and many European nations support this idea. They argue that after more than forty years of war, it is now time for the antagonists in the Middle East to negotiate a peace agreement.

However, opponents of an international peace conference—especially Israel—argue that any agreement would compromise Israel's security by forcing it to give up the occupied territories to an independent Palestinian state. They believe that there are better ways to establish peace than by allowing the members of the UN Security Council, especially the Soviet Union, to sit at the negotiating table. Some Israeli leaders have suggested a conference between Israeli officials and elected Palestinian representatives to negotiate some autonomy for the Palestinians either within Israel or in cooperation with Jordan, which has traditionally had close ties with the Palestinians.

Outlook

The conflicts in the Middle East have been raging for four decades, despite diplomatic efforts to create a lasting peace. Although the Egyptian-Israeli peace in 1979 broke new ground, it did not lead to an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict as was hoped. Today the issues that divide this troubled region are as divisive as they were twelve years ago. The role of the United States as a mediator in these conflicts is often unclear—the U.S. government strongly supports Israel but also counts Egypt and Saudi Arabia as major allies in the area. Future U.S. presidents will have to walk a careful path when dealing with the Middle East.

The Debate The Middle East

Should the United States Support an Independent Palestinian State?

PRO

The Arab-Israeli conflict will never be resolved until a Palestinian state is established. The state would meet the Palestinians' demands to govern themselves. The United States should support the spirit of the original United Nations partition plan, which calls for the establishment of two nations: one Arab and one Jewish.

CON

Creating a Palestinian state will not solve the problems in the Middle East. Some factions of the PLO are firmly committed to taking back the territory that is now Israel. They are likely to use a Palestinian state as a staging ground for terrorist attacks and an eventual all-out assault to destroy Israel.

Should the United States Insist That Israel Return the Occupied Territories?

PRO

International law forbids one nation from taking the land of another through war. Even the United Nations has demanded that Israel withdraw from the occupied territories. Yet Israel has openly supported the settlement of the occupied territories by Israeli people and has annexed the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. Israel should begin returning the land as a gesture of peace.

CON

The occupied territories are Israel's only bargaining chip, and international law gives Israel the right to exchange land for peace. Except for Egypt, not one of Israel's neighbors has been willing to negotiate a peace settlement. Israel should hold on to the territories until the Arabs are ready to talk.

Should the United States Support an International Peace Conference on the Middle East?

PRO

An international peace conference would produce a fair and just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. After more than forty years of war, it is now time for Israel and its neighbors to negotiate. The Europeans and the Soviets support this idea and seem willing to try to make the negotiations work. The United States should not pass up this opportunity to help shape a peace agreement for the Middle East.

CON

The United States should not support an international peace conference because it would compromise Israel's security. Israeli leaders fear that some members of the Security Council would not be as willing to support Israeli positions as is the United States. The conflict in the Middle East is a regional one and should be solved by Israelis and Arabs, not outsiders. There are other ways to allow the Palestinians to govern themselves—such as limited independence within Israel.

International Trade

The American economy relies on trade. American businesses sell airplanes, computers, and office equipment to foreign buyers. In turn, U.S. consumers buy oil, clothes, and VCRs made in other countries. Many foreign products are less expensive and considered more reliable than American goods. Sales of foreign goods in the United States surpass sales of U.S. goods in foreign countries, creating a trade deficit.

In 1989, the United States imported $109 billion more in goods and services than it exported. This trade imbalance costs American companies thousands of jobs each year. If Americans continue to buy imported goods instead of American-made products, U.S. manufacturing jobs may be lost forever to foreign manufacturers.

What can the United States do to reduce its trade deficit? Experts suggest several remedies. The government could impose tariffs and quotas on foreign goods. It could lower the value of the dollar to make U.S. goods less expensive in foreign markets. The U.S. government could pressure foreign countries to open their markets to U.S. goods. And, the United States could take steps to improve the productivity of American workers.

All of these solutions require government action. However, some people question whether the government should be trying to control trade at all. Are trade decisions better left to the free market, where producers decide which goods are the most profitable to make and consumers are free to purchase products made in any country?

Key Questions

- Should the government help American industry increase its productivity?
- Should the United States raise trade barriers to protect American jobs?
- Should the United States try to manage trade?

Background

Trading with the World

Why Do Nations Trade? The economies of nations grow faster when they trade with other nations than they would if all goods and services were produced for just the home market. For example, in the nineteenth century, Great Britain was the world's most efficient producer of textiles, and Portugal, with its ideal climate and fertile soil, produced fine wines. Each country could have provided its own citizens with both wine and textiles, but at a high cost. However, by concentrating labor and resources on what each did best and by exchanging these products, the two countries had all the wine and textiles they needed plus money left over to make or buy other goods.

Most countries have a particular strength or *comparative advantage*—such as location, natural resources, climate, skilled labor, capital, or technical superiority—that enables them to make certain products at a lower cost than other countries. Comparative advantage allows each country to profit by trading the goods it produces most efficiently for those products other countries make

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The Coca-Cola Company

Each year, U.S. companies export billions of dollars worth of American goods to foreign countries, and American consumers spend billions on foreign-made products. Trade allows each country to export the goods it produces most efficiently and to import products made more efficiently by foreigners. Countries can increase their standard of living by trading with others.

more efficiently. In this way, trade increases a country's standard of living.

Protectionism. *Free trade*, or trade without restrictions, does not exist in the world marketplace. Most countries erect trade barriers—such as *tariffs* and *quotas*—to protect domestic industries and jobs. A tariff is an import tax that increases the price of foreign-made products. Quotas limit the amount of specific products that can be imported. Ideally, trade barriers are temporary measures enacted to protect jobs in newly formed or struggling industries. By raising the price of imported goods, both tariffs and quotas encourage consumers to buy domestic goods.

Most economists agree that trade restrictions do not increase the number of jobs in a country and save jobs only at a high cost. Moreover, trade restrictions can backfire and lead to higher prices for domestic products because domestic companies no longer need to keep their prices low to compete with imports. If domestic companies raise prices, consumers spend more money than before, leaving them with less to spend on other products. This ultimately reduces employment in other domestic industries.

Another danger of protectionism is that other nations often retaliate by establishing their own tariffs and quotas. Erecting trade barriers is dangerous because the economies of the world are interconnected just as the economies of the fifty American states are interconnected. Unless nations cooperate with each other and agree to lower trade barriers, an escalating series of retaliatory tariffs and quotas—called a *trade war*—could result. A trade war could slow the world's economies and plunge the international community into a depression.

Success in Japan

Despite Japanese import restrictions, some American companies do well in Japan. Today, 15 percent of all goods sold in Japan are American exports.

U.S. Trade Policy

Trade Wars and the Great Depression. The last major trade war occurred in the 1930s, after Congress passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, which greatly increased tariffs on all goods imported into the United States. Other nations fought back by raising tariffs on American goods. The tariffs increased prices for almost everything bought and sold around the world. Because people could not afford to pay the higher prices, international demand for foreign-made products plummeted. People bought fewer products, and entire industries had to shut down. The trade wars of the 1930s deepened the effects of the Great Depression.

American Trade Leadership in the Postwar Era. After World War II, the United States played a leading role in expanding international trade. The country had escaped the war's devastation, and the billions of dollars it had spent on military production had revived its economy. The United States gave technical assistance and financial loans to Western European nations and Japan to help them replace the factories destroyed in the war.

The postwar economy in the United States was booming, but to keep it going Europe and Japan had to rebuild. If their factories had not been rebuilt, they would have suffered from high unemployment and been unable to buy American products. The United States reduced tariffs, encouraging entry of European and Japanese goods into the U.S. market.

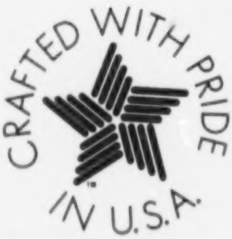
The United States also encouraged the nations of Western Europe to coordinate their trade policies. Eventually, in 1958, they created the European Economic Community (or EC for European Community). The EC abolished import restrictions between member countries and established some common terms for marketing their products outside Europe.

In the postwar world, U.S. companies expanded international trade by marketing their goods and opening factories overseas, especially in Latin America, parts of Europe, and the Middle East. Major oil companies, automobile manufacturers, and other private businesses transformed themselves into multinational corporations. By opening factories overseas, multinational corporations took advantage of lower labor costs and created new markets for American consumer goods by providing foreign citizens with jobs.

Encouraging International Trade. In the 1940s, leaders of the international community negotiated two agreements to encourage world trade.

Bretton Woods. In 1944, forty-four Western nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new monetary system. Under the Bretton Woods system, exchange rates between foreign currencies were *fixed* against the value of the American dollar. The Bretton Woods system worked well at first because the U.S. economy was much stronger than the other economies of the world. But soon the economies of other countries grew, and the value of the dollar declined. The decline of the dollar threw the Bretton Woods system out of balance. In 1971, the Bretton Woods system was reformed into a *floating* exchange system whereby the values of currencies relative to one another are free to change daily. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the health of its economy.

GATT. In 1947, eighty-three nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), establishing a code of conduct for trading nations. GATT provides an international forum for nations to discuss trade issues. Under the provisions of GATT, nations have sought to increase world trade by reducing tariffs and other barriers.



Crafted With Pride in the U.S.A. Council, Inc.

The Crafted With Pride label stands for American-made textile and apparel products backed by the reputation of U.S. manufacturers and retailers.

This label is an example of the marketing efforts of U.S. soft goods (fiber, textile, apparel, and home fashions) industries to heighten awareness of the importance of purchasing U.S.A.-made soft goods products.

The United States and International Trade Today

The Trade Deficit. Since the mid-1970s, the United States has imported more goods than it has exported. The trade deficit was $109 billion in 1989. Some economists maintain that a trade deficit signals a healthy economy because only a strong economy can afford to buy so many imported goods. But most economists believe that such a huge trade imbalance harms the U.S. economy and threatens future growth. They contend that the trade deficit causes hundreds of thousands of jobs to be lost in U.S. industries such as steel, automobiles, textiles, shoes, and agriculture. Many trade analysts say that American consumers are in effect sending billions of dollars to foreign companies. If domestic companies had this money, they could expand industrial production and increase technological research to ensure future economic growth.

In response to growing concern about the trade deficit, Congress passed the Trade Act of 1988, which strengthened U.S. trade laws against countries that limit U.S. exports. The act requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as their products receive in the United States.

How the Budget Deficit Affects Trade. Most experts believe that the federal budget deficit is a primary cause of the U.S. trade imbalance. A budget deficit occurs when the government spends more money than it receives in tax revenues. The budget deficit is expected to be $63 billion in fiscal year 1991.

To finance the budget deficit, the U.S. government must borrow money from private banks. This borrowing decreases the amount of bank money available for individual loans to finance cars, houses, or college tuition. This shortage of

UNIPHOTO

During the last decade, the United States has moved from a manufacturing economy to a service-oriented economy. Many industries have been hard hit by foreign manufacturers who are able to produce quality goods at low prices. Some factories, such as this one in Kellogg, Idaho, have been forced to close.

"loanable" money drives up *interest rates*, that is, the amount of money people have to pay to borrow money.

Foreign investors like to invest in countries with high interest rates because they earn a good return on their money. However, before they can loan their money to U.S. banks, foreign investors must first convert their currency into American dollars. Because U.S. interest rates were so high in the 1970s and early 1980s, foreign investors were willing to pay more in their own currency for dollars. And because investors were paying more for each dollar, the value of the dollar increased.

The high value of the dollar drove up the price of American products sold abroad. Foreign consumers reacted to these high prices by buying fewer American-made goods. However, the high value of the dollar reduced the cost of imported goods sold in the United States. American consumers took advantage of these low prices by buying more foreign goods and fewer American goods. As a result, American business lost profits, American workers lost jobs, and the nation as a whole experienced record trade deficits.

To correct this situation, the United States met with other major industrial nations to discuss ways of reducing the value of the dollar. (A decline in the value of the dollar *lowers* the price of American products sold in foreign countries and *raises* the price of foreign imports sold in the United States.) In the fall of 1985, these nations acted together to target the value of their currency within a particular price zone. Since this policy was adopted, the value of the dollar has dropped about 40 percent. However, despite the dollar's fall, the trade deficit continues.

American Productivity. Another cause of the U.S. trade deficit is a slowdown in American *productivity* (the amount of goods produced per man-hour). Many nations such as France, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom have increased their productivity faster than the United States. Analysts say that the growth in foreign productivity has occurred for several reasons:

- Foreign companies have been more willing to invest in newer, more efficient manufacturing techniques while U.S. companies have often lagged behind. For example, most Japanese steel mills have abandoned old facilities for more productive, modern factories. Today, Japan produces more steel than the United States.
- Foreign companies benefit from strong government planning. For example, the Japanese government decides which industries have the most potential to grow (called "sunrise" industries), then directs investors to invest money in those companies. Many analysts believe central government planning has given Japanese industries such as

electronics and computer technology an advantage over U.S. companies.

- Workers in other nations are willing to work for lower wages than are many U.S. workers—especially Americans in unionized industries. For example, labor costs, which include wages and benefits, for steel workers is $26 per hour in the United States, while it is $21 per hour in Japan, $20 per hour in West Germany, and $16 per hour in Great Britain. In less developed countries such as South Korea, wages and benefits are much lower than even Great Britain.

U.S. Trading Relationships. The U.S. government recently negotiated trade agreements with two of America's biggest trading partners, Japan and Canada. These agreements were designed to remove barriers limiting imports of American goods.

Trade with Japan. Japan enjoys a trade advantage of nearly $50 billion a year with the United States—more than one-third of the total

Japanese cars arrive at an American port. In the early 1980s, the United States limited the number of Japanese automobile imports to help American car manufacturers recover from lagging sales.

Richard George

U.S. trade deficit. Some experts believe that the United States has a large trade deficit with Japan because the Japanese do not trade fairly. These experts claim that the Japanese impose unfair trade barriers on many foreign products to prevent the goods from penetrating the Japanese market. In addition, U.S. trade experts point out that the Japanese government forces many imported goods to undergo expensive inspections before they can be sold in Japan. In recent years, the Japanese have agreed to export less steel and fewer cars to the United States and to remove trade restrictions on U.S. beef and citrus exports.

U.S.-Canada Trade Pact. In December 1987, the United States and Canada signed a landmark free-trade agreement to create the world's largest open market. The agreement will eliminate all tariffs between the two countries by 1999. The agreement also will remove restrictions on "cross border" investments, enabling companies in both nations to invest freely in each other. Experts predict that when all the tariffs are removed, U.S. exports to Canada will increase $2.6 billion a year. President Bush would like to negotiate a similar agreement with Mexico to create a free trade zone for all of North America.

Current Issues

Reducing the Trade Deficit. Many policymakers think the U.S. trade deficit is the nation's most serious issue. They are considering several proposals to decrease the trade deficit, including balancing the federal budget and increasing American productivity. However, most agree that there is no easy solution to the trade deficit problem.

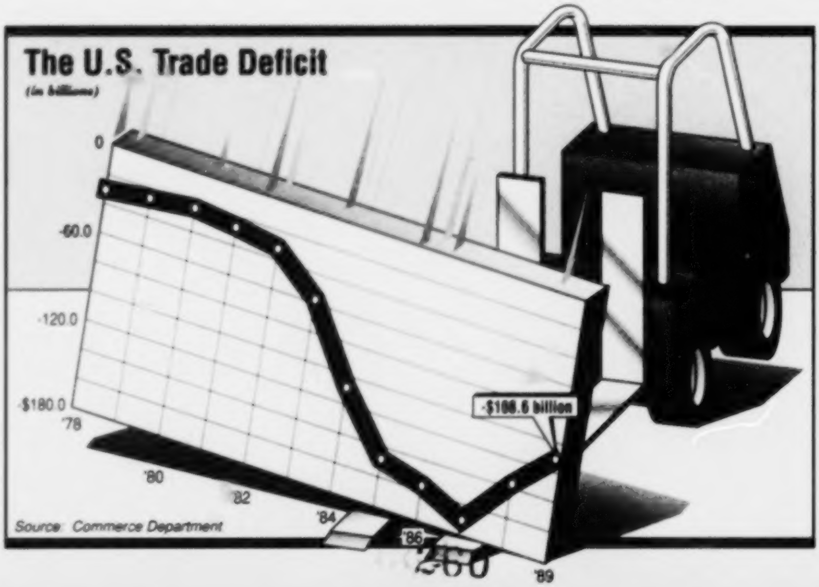
Balancing the Federal Budget. Many economists believe that balancing the federal budget should be the first step in reducing the trade deficit.

Reducing the budget deficit could help lower the value of the dollar. However, presidents and members of Congress have promised to balance the budget for years, yet all attempts have failed. Raising taxes could bring about a recession because consumers with less money to spend will buy fewer goods. However, cutting federal spending also is difficult.

Increasing Productivity. Some trade analysts maintain that the only way to reduce the trade deficit is to increase U.S. productivity. They believe that the federal government should help American industry by (1) encouraging the use of modern production techniques through tax incentives to corporations, (2) subsidizing research firms that develop new products, and (3) upgrading workers' skills through job-training programs. These analysts claim that government involvement in business can help U.S. industry become more competitive in the world market.

Critics of this approach claim that government interference in industry amounts to a centrally planned economic system similar to that of

The United States has experienced a severe trade deficit during the past decade. The deficit has meant less profit for U.S. companies and fewer jobs for American workers.



Source: Commerce Department

the Soviet Union. The free market, not the government, should decide who wins and who loses in American business. Critics believe that the U.S. system of free enterprise has made the nation prosper and that American industry can restore its own productivity without government help.

President Bush believes that government efforts to strengthen the nation's schools will improve U.S. competitiveness. He thinks that schools can teach the skills the next generation of workers will need to produce reliable products at less cost. Good schools will also train the scientists and engineers needed to develop new products, particularly high-technology items.

Instituting Protectionist Measures. Many U.S. business leaders believe that they are at a disadvantage in the world marketplace. Americans claim that many foreign governments subsidize their domestic industries and erect trade barriers to protect them from overseas goods. For example, farmers in the European Economic Community are heavily subsidized by their governments. These subsidies enable European farmers to sell some of their products on world markets at lower prices than American farmers. Several American industries—particularly the steel, textile, and automobile industries—have asked Congress to increase their subsidies and impose tariffs and quotas to protect them from overseas competitors. Industry representatives maintain that, without protection, they will have to reduce production and lay off workers.

Advocates of tariffs and quotas say that the United States has been a victim of its own free-trade policies. They claim that other nations exploit the U.S. marketplace at the expense of U.S. domestic industries. They also say that tariffs and quotas will force foreign governments to open up their markets to American products.

Trade in the U.S.A.

Leading exports

1. **Aircraft**
2. **Automobile parts**
3. **Computer equipment and parts**
4. **Computers**
5. **Semiconductors**

Leading imports

1. **Automobiles**
2. **Crude petroleum and products**
3. **Motor vehicle parts**
4. **Computer equipment and parts**
5. **Semiconductors**

Opponents of quotas and tariffs argue that trade barriers are "destructionism," not protectionism, and warn that U.S. trade restrictions could set off a trade war. Some nations might retaliate against U.S. trade barriers by buying fewer American-made products and erecting more trade barriers of their own. American consumers then will be the ultimate losers because they will have to pay more for foreign-made goods.

Managed Trade. Another proposal for reducing the trade deficit is government-managed trade. Proponents of a managed trade policy argue that the free trade system of the last forty-five years is obsolete and that governments need to control trade to ensure fairness and profitability. They claim that the current system has allowed foreign countries to unfairly keep U.S. goods out of their markets. At the same time, such countries have helped their own industries to export products to the United States. The result is the current trade deficit.

Under a managed trade policy, the U.S. government would help promising industries to export their products. The government could help these industries by providing money for high-tech research or repealing laws that prevent American companies from cooperating with one another. Proponents of managed trade say that the Japanese have succeeded because their government works closely with industry and allows companies to work together in developing products. In addition, the government can help U.S. exporters by negotiating agreements with other countries. These agreements would open foreign markets to American goods in exchange for U.S. commitments to lower trade barriers for foreign goods. Under a managed trade system, governments would make more decisions about what industries produce, how much they export, and with whom they trade. Those who favor this approach say that the U.S.

government is in a better position than private industry to coordinate research efforts, to persuade other nations to accept U.S. goods, and to predict which products will be the most profitable to produce.

Others see managed trade as a threat to free trade. Critics of managed trade argue that the market, not the government, should determine which goods a country produces, imports, and exports. They say that if left alone, the market will determine which products a country can most profitably export and which products it should import. Governments that manage trade risk wasting money by supporting industries that may prove to be less profitable. These industries may find that they are unable to export their products to countries that can produce the same product for less. Thus, these industries may close, creating unemployment and recession. Trade management critics contend that instead of helping to reduce the trade deficit, managed trade could make it worse. Some experts say that managed trade attacks the GATT system, which has contributed to unprecedented economic growth since World War II. They fear that if the GATT system is undermined by special agreements between countries and by government aid to exporters, the world risks slower economic growth, or even recession.

Outlook

Huge trade deficits have led many Americans to believe that the United States has been hurt by its support of free trade. Many U.S. industries have lost profits to foreign companies and have increased pressure on the government to enact protectionist measures against foreign competitors. The danger is that other nations will retaliate by strengthening their own protectionist laws. The

U.S. government has sought other methods to reduce the trade deficit, including intervening in currency markets to decrease the value of the dollar and negotiating trade agreements with major trading partners. However, some Americans believe that stronger measures are needed to make the United States more competitive. Questions remain about whether more government involvement in trade will be good for the U.S. economy or if a free and open market would be better.

The Debate International Trade

Should the Government Help American Industry Increase Its Productivity?

PRO

American workers are being out-produced by Japanese, West German, and other workers every year. The government should help increase American productivity by giving tax breaks to corporations that use modern production techniques, by subsidizing firms that develop new products, and by upgrading workers' skills through job-training programs. Only government involvement in business can help the United States become competitive again in world markets.

CON

Government interference in industry goes against the U.S. system of free enterprise, which has made the nation prosper. Any government program designed to increase productivity will eventually lead to a centrally planned economy similar to that of the Soviet Union. American industry can restore its productivity without the help of the government.

Should the United States Raise Trade Barriers to Protect American Jobs?

PRO

Americans are losing jobs because foreign governments, especially Japan's, are subsidizing their countries' exports or erecting trade barriers to keep out American products. Trade barriers such as quotas and tariffs are the only tools the United States has to equalize competition.

CON

Trade barriers raise consumer prices and actually reduce the number of domestic jobs in the long run. Other countries would retaliate against American tariffs and quotas, and U.S. trade would be hurt even more. The United States should promote free-market principles rather than pursue shortsighted, retaliatory trade policies.

Should the United States Try to Manage Trade?

PRO

The trade deficit has resulted because other governments subsidize exports and block American imports. The U.S. government should counter these policies by intervening, too. The government can provide subsidies, finance research, and allow competing companies to cooperate in developing new technologies. The government can also help industry by negotiating trade agreements with other countries.

CON

Managed trade will destroy the open and free market created at the end of World War II. Managed trade is protectionism by another name. Agreements with other nations to restrict exports raise the prices of restricted goods for American consumers. And, if the government supports industries that turn out to be unprofitable because they still cannot compete in the world market, the government will have wasted its money and done nothing to reduce the trade deficit.

Western Europe

From its beginnings, when the American colonies attracted European settlers and depended on Europe for manufactured goods, the United States has been culturally and economically linked to Western Europe. European immigrants continued to flock to the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Trade flourished across the Atlantic. And during the two world wars, the United States gave military and economic aid to its European friends. These close ties continue to influence American policy toward Western Europe. For more than forty years, American troops have been stationed in Western Europe to protect its countries from attack by the Soviet Union. In addition, trade between the United States and Western Europe totals $165 billion each year.

Today, Europe is facing many changes. By 1992, the nations of Western Europe hope to create a single market where all trade barriers among them are removed. At the same time, many Eastern European nations are adopting democratic governments and free market systems. The threat from the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe appears to be decreasing. And West Germany and East Germany are taking steps to reunify into one country.

Some U.S. policymakers believe that these changes mean a new, perhaps less important, role for the United States in the affairs of Western Europe. Officials must now decide what that role should be. As the nations of Western Europe make more economic and foreign policy decisons together, as the two Germanys reunify, and as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe become less threatening, how will U.S. relations with Europe be affected?

Key Questions

- Should the United States reduce its military presence in Western Europe?
- Should the United States retaliate against restrictive European trade practices?
- Should the United States support German reunification?

Background

The Basis of the Western Alliance

Postwar Reconstruction. World War II left most of Europe physically devastated, its economies ruined, and its people desperate. The Marshall Plan (1947-53) sent billions of dollars in American aid, investment, and trade to rebuild Western Europe. American leaders believed that a strong European economy would prevent a rebirth of fascism or an insurgence of communism and that a strong European military would keep the Soviets from America's doorstep. As the United States helped Western Europe, a strong alliance was forged, based on shared cultural heritage and mutual economic and security interests.

NATO. The bedrock of the Western alliance is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—a military alliance. Established in 1949, NATO is a joint effort to prevent an armed communist attack in Europe. All member countries contribute to NATO's budget, and many provide troops for NATO's forces, but the commander of these forces has always been an American. Sixteen nations belong to NATO—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and West Germany. In 1955, the Soviet Union and its East European allies—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania—formed a counterpart to NATO called the Warsaw Pact.

The European Economic Community. In 1957, many of the nations of Western Europe formed the European Economic Community (or EC for Euro-

National Archives

In 1945, before the defeat of Nazi Germany, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin met at Yalta, a resort in the Soviet Union, and set the stage for the postwar division of Europe. They agreed that after the war, the Soviet Union would be responsible for the East European countries its forces occupied, while the United States, Britain, and France would control the rest. The "Big Three" pledged to hold free elections in the countries under their control.

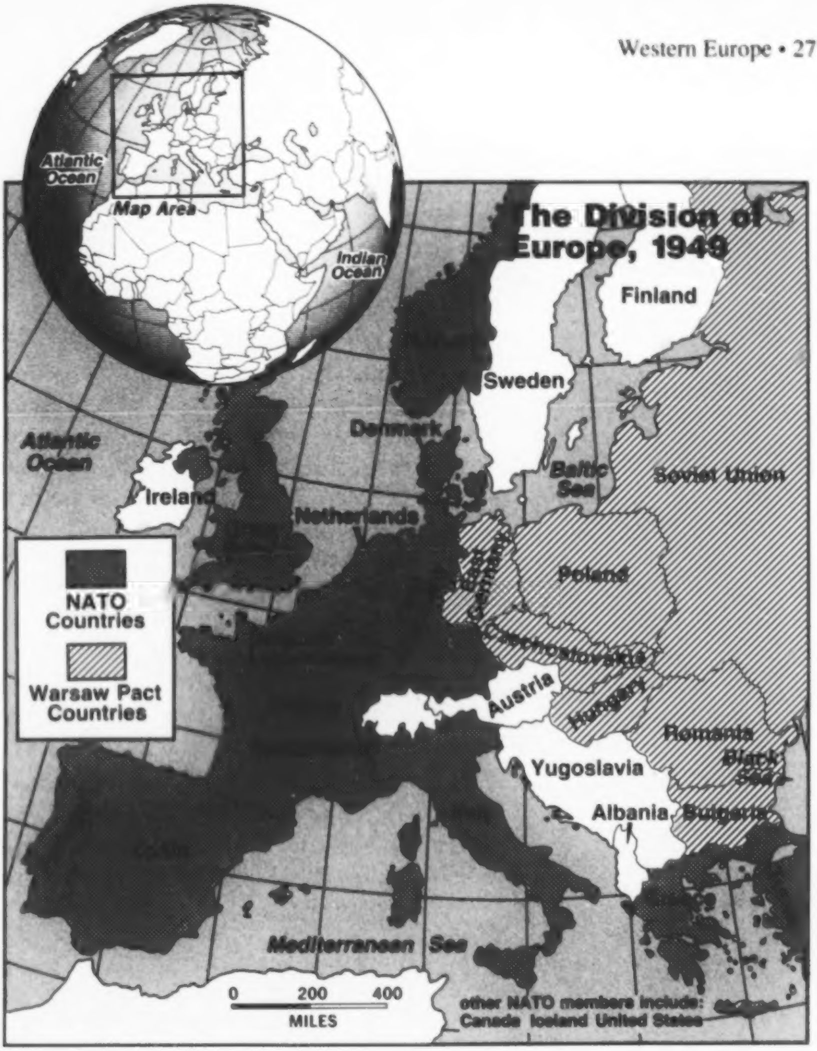
pean Community). In some ways, the twelve members of the EC—Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and West Germany—operate almost as though they were one country. Goods and services are traded among them with few or no tariffs. Member countries try to plan their economies to complement one another and work together to strengthen European competition in the world market by establishing uniform trade rules and policies. Although disputes often arise concerning joint economic policy, many say that the EC has done more to ensure peace in Western Europe than has any other peace treaty or security pact. Many economists also believe that the EC helped create the economic boom that Western Europe enjoyed during the 1950s and 1960s. The countries of the European Community hope to bring about another period of strong economic growth by creating a single market where money, people, and goods can cross borders freely. The shift from twelve national markets to one European market will be completed by the end of 1992.

The International Effects of American Economic Policies. Europeans often describe their relationship to the U.S. economy by saying, "When the United States has a cold, Western Europe gets pneumonia." West Europeans closely follow news about the strength of the U.S. dollar, the U.S. budget and trade deficits, and the outlook for the U.S. economy. Europeans understand—and sometimes resent—that their economic well-being is very closely tied to that of another nation.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, reducing inflation was a priority of the Carter and Reagan administrations. Both emphasized a *tight monetary policy*, which limited the amount of money available for private loans. This policy, coupled with huge budget deficits, caused interest rates to rise in the United States. High U.S. interest rates encouraged Europeans to invest their money, or *capital*, in American banks and businesses. These investments drained Western Europe of capital it needed for economic investment and prolonged a serious European recession.

The U.S. economic boom of the 1980s and its high interest rates also increased the value of the dollar overseas. European countries must pay for their oil imports with dollars. Consequently, as the value of the dollar rose, so did the cost of imported oil. European leaders urged President Reagan to reduce U.S. budget deficits to bring down interest rates and the value of the dollar. But the president found it extremely difficult to curb government spending and thus reduce the budget deficit.

However, today, with lower interest rates and the value of the dollar down, West European economies are showing signs of growth. Inflation and unemployment are down, and production is increasing. Much of the improvement has occurred because European countries are exporting


Atlantic Ocean
Map Area
Indian Ocean
The Division of Europe, 1949
Finland
Sweden
Denmark
Atlantic Ocean
Ireland
Netherlands
Baltic Sea
Soviet Union
Poland
East Germany
Czechoslovakia
Austria
Hungary
Romania
Black Sea
Yugoslavia
Albania
Bulgaria
Mediterranean Sea
NATO Countries
Warsaw Pact Countries
0 200 400
MILES
other NATO members include:
Canada Iceland United States

more goods to the United States. Recently, exports continued to push economic expansion as European companies such as Benetton, Swatch Watch, and Laura Ashley gained places in the American market.

The Missile Debate. For many years, NATO relied on nuclear weapons in Europe to deter an attack by the large conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact. At the request of NATO leaders,

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the United States began modernizing its nuclear forces in Europe in 1983—deploying Pershing II intermediate-range nuclear missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles. Both types of missiles could reach targets within the Soviet Union.

After the planned deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles was announced in 1982, European peace activists staged massive protests. The protesters argued that the new American missiles would increase the chances of nuclear war in Western Europe. The Soviets tried to turn European and American public opinion further against deploying the Pershing II missiles by threatening to withdraw from the arms control talks in Geneva, Switzerland, unless deployment was canceled.

Soviet attempts to weaken NATO's solidarity failed. Except for Denmark and the Netherlands—which delayed final deployment—the West European NATO members favored the Pershing IIs. Although the Soviets withdrew from the Geneva talks after the Pershing II missiles were in place, they returned to the arms control negotiations in 1985. Many people believe that the 1983 walkout lost support for the Soviet Union in Western Europe and that this loss of credibility helped draw the Soviets back to the arms talks.

INF Treaty. Two years after the Soviets returned to the arms control negotiations, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed on a major treaty. On December 8, 1987, President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. In this landmark arms agreement, the superpowers agreed to eliminate all U.S. and Soviet land-based missiles in Europe. The INF Treaty was the first agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union that called for the dismantling of an entire category of nuclear weapons. Under this agreement, about 800 U.S. and 1,900 Soviet missiles will be eliminated by 1991.

Fears of a decreased U.S. commitment to the defense of Western Europe have caused some West European leaders to take steps to strengthen their own defenses, independent of the United States and NATO. For example, Great Britain and France, Western Europe's only nuclear powers, have discussed the joint development of an air-launched nuclear-armed missile. In addition, France and West Germany have pledged to defend each other in the event of attack and are conducting joint training exercises.

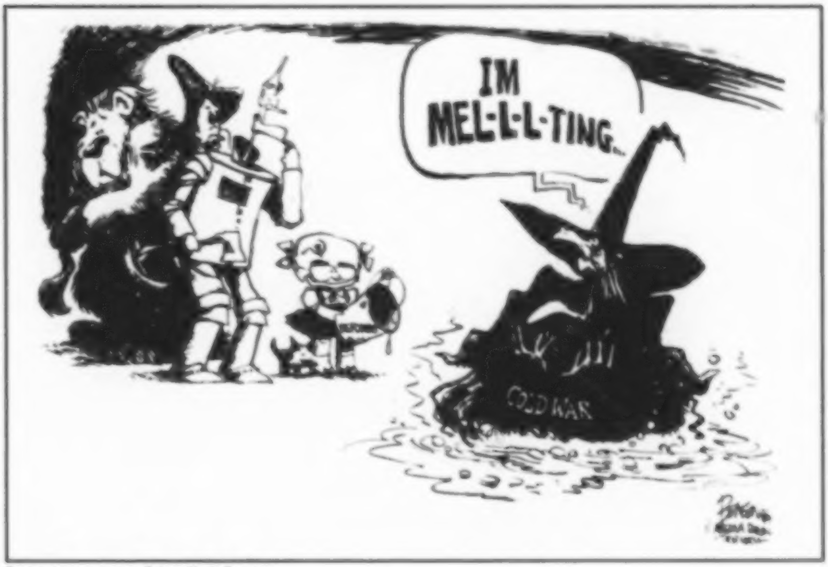
Reducing U.S. Forces

Just before World War II ended, more than three million American soldiers were serving in Western Europe. When the war ended, some American leaders predicted that all American soldiers would return from Europe after two years. They were wrong. By 1950, the number of American troops in Europe shrunk to 79,000, and fewer than half of them were in West Germany. Two years later, the United States nearly tripled its troop strength to 270,000 in response to increases in Soviet forces. Almost all of these soldiers were sent to West Germany to deter the increases in Soviet troop strength in East Germany. Today, 249,000 American troops are in West Germany and 62,000 are in other NATO countries in Europe.

Changes in Eastern Europe. In 1989, communist governments in many Eastern European countries collapsed when their citizens protested poor economic conditions and corruption by communist officials. The Soviet Union refrained from sending in troops to stop these popular revolutions, thus allowing their Eastern European allies to abandon communism and hold democratic elections. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania all held elections in which noncommunist parties were successful.

The abandonment of communism in East Germany raised the question of reunification with West Germany. Germany was divided into two countries after its defeat in World War II. The western part, occupied by U.S., British, and French forces, became the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), and the eastern part, occupied by the Soviet Union, became the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). The border between the two countries was guarded by heavily armed NATO troops in the west and equally well-armed Warsaw Pact troops in the east.

After democratic elections were held in East Germany in 1990, the two Germanys planned negotiations to become one country again. The four victorious powers from World War II—France, Great Britian, the Soviet Union, and the United States—as well as the two Germanys were



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to be included in the talks. All parties will have to deal with issues such as foreign troops remaining in a reunited Germany and whether the new Germany will belong to a military alliance.

Current Issues

American Military Presence in Europe. Since the end of World War II, much of America's military strategy has centered on the defense of Europe. The United States has maintained a force of about 300,000 troops in Western Europe, most of whom are located near the East-West border. Some Americans argue that the United States should withdraw its military forces from Europe. They claim that NATO's European members do not contribute an appropriate share of the defense and that they would be forced to provide more troops if American forces withdrew.

However, most Europeans say that the United States ignores Europe's substantial contributions to the defense alliance, pointing out that Western Europe provides most of the soldiers, combat planes, armored divisions, and fighting ships within the NATO alliance. European leaders claim that they are spending more than they used to on improving NATO's military bases and increasing ammunition supplies, but they also state that their funds are limited.

Another argument for pulling out American troops is that Europe does not need as many troops because the continent has been peaceful since 1945. Those who favor withdrawing U.S. troops also claim that the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe has substantially weakened the Warsaw Pact. Some of the new East European governments have campaigned for the removal of Soviet troops from their soil, and in a few cases—such as Czechoslovakia—Soviet troops have already left. Americans who favor a U.S. pullout say that the United States should match Soviet withdrawals.

Those who want to keep American troops in Europe argue that a strong U.S. military presence

U.S. Army

American soldiers on maneuvers in West Germany. The United States stations thousands of troops and tanks in NATO countries to deter the Soviet Union from invading Western Europe.

is still needed to deter Soviet attack. They claim that the future of the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Eastern Europe is still uncertain. Supporters of maintaining U.S. troops in Europe say that the strong economic and cultural ties between the United States and Europe make Western Europe far more important than any other part of the world in terms of U.S. military policy. In addition, they point out that Soviet forces still outnumber NATO forces. They also argue that Soviet forces can quickly return to their positions in Eastern Europe while U.S. forces would have to travel across the Atlantic Ocean in the event of a crisis.

The Threat of Protectionism. The United States is suffering from a high trade deficit with Europe. The United States imports about $13 billion more in European goods than it exports to Western Europe. Many American workers in agriculture, steel, and telecommunications say that European countries have installed trade barriers to protect their industries from competition from U.S. imports. These workers want Congress to implement similar trade barriers (such as export subsidies and tariffs) to reduce European imports and protect American jobs. Some U.S. businesses also fear that European protectionism may increase after 1992 when the EC countries eliminate all internal trade barriers. Some American experts believe that the Europeans will increase trade barriers with outside nations as they reduce them among themselves.

One troublesome issue is the decline in U.S. agricultural exports to Western Europe. American farmers blame much of the drop on the Europeans, who sell agricultural exports at prices below those of American exports. American farmers are also upset over tariffs that the EC places on U.S. agricultural goods. American farmers want President Bush to force the Europeans to reduce their tariffs or to enact retaliatory tariffs on European goods exported to the United States.

European farmers argue that such actions by the United States would cut into their share of the world market and reduce their sales in the United States. Europeans believe that American farmers have criticized them unfairly because the European share of the world market has remained constant over the years. Moreover, European officials promise to retaliate against American trade measures. Many experts fear that an increase in protectionism will result in a "trade war"—an example of which occurred in 1989 when the EC banned imports of hormone-treated beef from the United States, claiming that the hormones were unsafe. The U.S. government responded by raising tariffs on some European food products, such as boneless beef and pork, fruit juices, wine coolers, canned tomatoes, French cheeses, and instant coffee. The Europeans then restricted imports of American walnuts and dried fruit. Some experts fear that such trade wars could escalate like the one that devastated the world economy during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

German Reunification. The two Germanys have been moving toward reunification since East Germany's communist government collapsed in 1989. The East German government opened its borders to allow East Germans to freely visit to the West. New political parties in East Germany have established ties with similar parties in West Germany. The two governments established joint committees on tourism, the environment, and nuclear power and are planning to adopt the West German deutsche mark as a common currency. Before the East German elections in 1990, West German chancellor Helmut Kohl suggested a generally popular plan for German reunification.

As one of the four occupying powers of Germany after World War II, the United States has the

Europe 1992

According to a European Community study, by the mid-1990s a single European market would accomplish the following:

- **increase the value of all the goods and services produced in Europe by $325 billion per year**
- **lower prices by 6.1 percent**
- **create 1.8 million new jobs**
- **increase tax revenues**
- **decrease Europe's trade deficit**

A West German youth hands flowers to an East German border guard at the Berlin Wall. In 1989, when the East German government lifted restrictions on travel to West Germany, Germans from both countries celebrated by dancing on the Wall and chipping away pieces for souvenirs.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

right to participate in any negotiations about the future of Germany. Many Americans support reunification, arguing that the wartime agreements stated that Germany was not to be permanently partitioned. They believe that if both Germanys desire to be one nation, they should be able to reunite without interference from other countries. Supporters of reunification also point out that a reunified Germany would not be a threat to the United States because it would be a democratic nation, closely related to its neighbors in the West through the EC. Some U.S. policymakers, including President Bush, support reunification if a reunited Germany remains part of NATO.

Some Americans oppose U.S. support for German reunification, fearing that a united Germany would become the dominant power in Europe, and would diminish the role of the United

States in NATO. Others fear that a reunified Germany might want to expand its territory again as it did in World War II. Poland is particularly concerned that a new Germany will want to take Polish territory that was part of Germany before World War II. Other Americans are concerned that a reunited Germany will dominate the EC, including its trade policies toward the United States, and add to an already severe U.S. trade deficit with Western Europe.

Outlook

Europe is changing rapidly. Eastern European countries are holding democratic elections and reforming their economies. East Germany and West Germany are taking steps toward reunification. The EC is becoming one market where people, goods, and money can freely move across borders. All of these changes affect the United States and its policies toward Western Europe, meaning that U.S. leaders must now reexamine trade and defense policies with their European allies. As the nations of Europe increase their dependence on one another, U.S.-European links may become less important.

The Debate Western Europe

Should the United States Reduce Its Military Presence in Western Europe?

PRO

Some 300,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Western Europe, at great expense to American taxpayers and great advantage to European businesses. The possibility of a Soviet invasion is remote. Bringing U.S. troops and their equipment home would save the United States billions of dollars and force the Europeans to pay their fair share for their own defense.

CON

Withdrawing even a few American troops from Europe could jeopardize the security of NATO. Eliminating intermediate-range nuclear weapons from European soil means that NATO will be more dependent on conventional forces to defend Western Europe. The Soviet Union has a history of breaking commitments. U.S. troops are needed to ensure that Western Europe is protected from Soviet aggression.

Should the United States Retaliate against Restrictive European Trade Practices?

PRO

The United States cannot sit idle while the EC erects unfair trade barriers. The United States must retaliate to save American jobs and industries. If Western Europe tries to keep American exports out, the United States should apply the same type of restrictions to imports from European countries.

CON

Although showing signs of growth, the economies of Western Europe are still beset with problems. Western Europe has to protect jobs by limiting imports and subsidizing industry. To retaliate would only start a trade war that would eventually hurt both sides. Widespread protectionism stifles long-term economic growth.

Should the United States Support German Reunification?

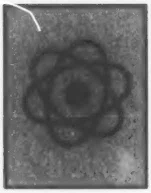
PRO

The division of Germany into two countries was never meant to be permanent. If the Germans want to reunite, they should be able to do so without interference from outside countries. A reunited Germany does not pose a threat to the United States or its allies because it would be a democracy with close economic ties to the rest of Western Europe.

CON

A reunified Germany could be dangerous. It could try to expand its territory as it did before and during World War II. German reunification could also mean U.S. influence in Europe would diminish in the face of a more powerful Germany. U.S.-German trade relations could worsen; as the German economy becomes more powerful, the U.S. trade deficit with Germany is likely to grow.

Nuclear Proliferation



In 1964, China built its first atomic bomb, joining the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France as nations having nuclear weapons. Since then, no other nations have admitted producing "the bomb," although India tested a nuclear device for what it called "peaceful purposes" and Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa are suspected of having secretly developed nuclear weapons. In addition, other nations have tried to gain nuclear technology through both legal and illegal means.

In response, the United States and other nuclear powers have taken steps to limit the spread of atomic weapons. They have agreed to transfer nuclear technology for electricity production and medical research only to countries that promise not to develop atomic weapons. Also, the nuclear powers established an international monitoring agency that inspects nuclear facilities to ensure that bombs are not being made. And the United States gives some countries economic and military aid in exchange for their promise not to build nuclear arms.

However, some experts question whether these efforts can stop nuclear proliferation. They claim that a determined nation can secretly build weapons by diverting legally obtained materials to weapons production. The challenge for policymakers today, according to these experts, is to reduce the desire for nuclear weapons among all nations, thereby removing the dangers of living in a world where any country can easily build an atomic bomb.

Key Questions

- Are current safeguards adequate?
- Should the United States halt sales of nuclear materials and technology?
- Should the United States use conventional arms sales to encourage others not to develop nuclear weapons?

Background

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

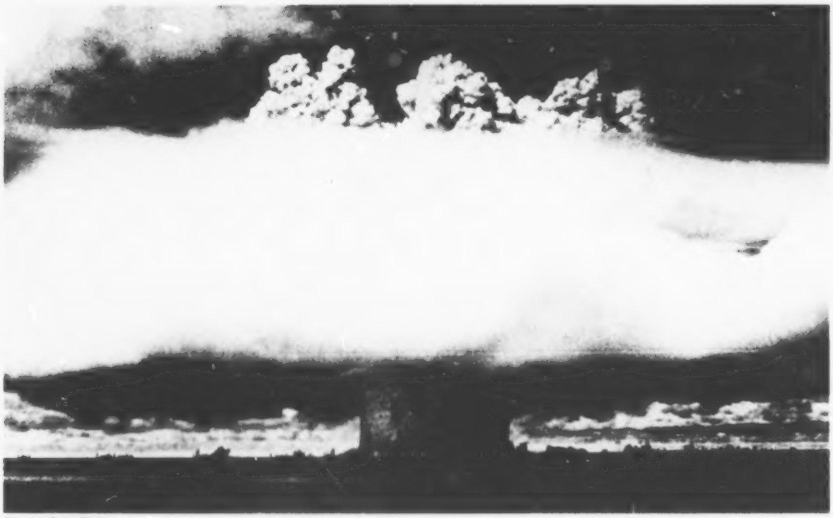
The Atomic Bomb and the United States. In August 1945, the United States dropped two atomic (nuclear) bombs on Japan. These bombs leveled the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and killed more than 140,000 people, causing Japan to surrender and thus ending World War II.

The dropping of the bombs demonstrated to the world the awesome power of nuclear technology. Soon after the war, in the Baruch Plan, the United States proposed in the United Nations that all nuclear technology and materials be placed under international ownership and that all nuclear weapons be destroyed. The Soviet Union, however, vetoed this proposal. Soviet leaders feared that if they gave up their plans for building a nuclear device, the United States would always have a military advantage.

Other Nations Join the Nuclear Club. In the 1940s, the United States believed that it would take another ten to twenty years before other nations could develop nuclear arms. But U.S. hopes of a nuclear monopoly were shattered when the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear device in 1949 and Great Britain followed suit in 1952. Faced with the possibility of nuclear weapons technology spreading throughout the world, the United States proposed the "Atoms for Peace" program. Sponsored through the United Nations, this program promoted the peaceful uses of nuclear technology, such as energy production and medical research. Nations participating in Atoms for Peace agreed not to use the technology to make nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Reactors

According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, 417 nuclear reactors are in operation worldwide in twenty-six countries.



Pan Am/DNA Photo

Since 1945, China, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States have tested many nuclear weapons. The testing has led to the development of larger, more powerful weapons than those dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II.

International Atomic Energy Agency. As part of Atoms for Peace, the United Nations created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This agency inspects nuclear facilities to make sure no one uses nuclear technology or fuel to make bombs. Although the IAEA has no enforcement powers, it serves as a watchdog to ensure that members of the international community live up to the agreement.

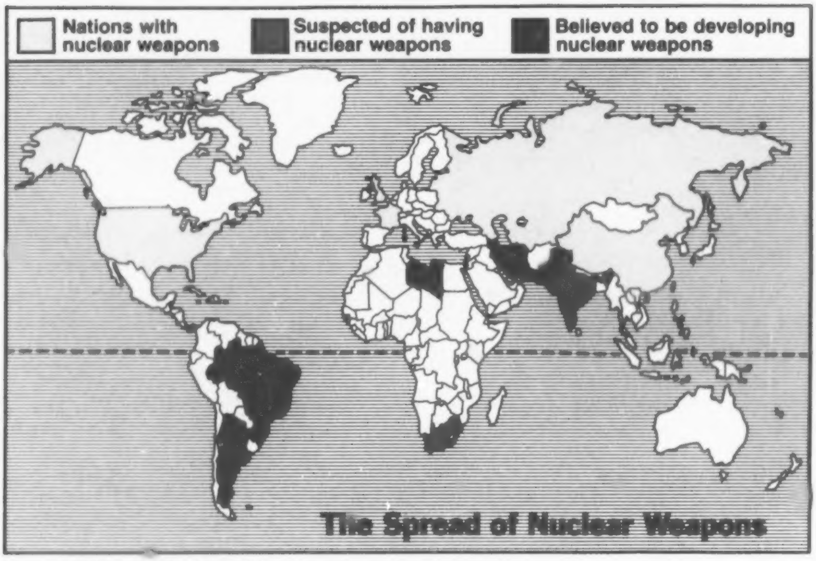
New Club Members. In the early 1960s, both France and China detonated atomic bombs, adding to the number of members in the "nuclear club." The three original nuclear powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—worried that still more countries would develop the bomb, adding to international instability. Many nonnuclear countries resented this attitude, pointing out that they would be just as judicious in their use of nuclear weapons as the original members of the nuclear club. Nonnuclear countries also said that the real problem was the growing number of missiles and bombs of the superpowers.

Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967). In 1967, the United States and most of the nations of Latin America negotiated one of the first major nonproliferation agreements, the Treaty of Tlatelolco. The goal of the signers was to make Latin America a "nuclear-free zone." Individual Latin American countries agreed not to manufacture, test, or acquire nuclear weapons. They invited countries with nuclear weapons to sign agreements promising not to deploy such weapons in Latin America or its surrounding waters. Cuba and Argentina have not ratified the treaty, and Chile and Brazil are not abiding by the treaty because of the holdouts.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968). After many years of debate and negotiations, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a treaty intended to (1) halt the spread of nuclear weapons and (2) promote peaceful uses of nuclear power. The treaty permitted all nonnuclear *signatories* (signers) access to peaceful nuclear technology from participating nuclear powers. The nonnuclear countries had to promise not to use the technology to make weapons and to let the IAEA inspect their nuclear power facilities to verify that this promise was being kept. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—the only nuclear club members to sign the treaty—agreed not to help others build nuclear bombs. The United States and the Soviet Union also promised to negotiate "in good faith" to end the arms race. Critics of the treaty say that it offered too much access to nuclear technology and materials in return for too weak a promise not to make weapons. Critics also point out that, although 136 nations have signed the treaty, key countries such as Argentina, Brazil, China, France, India, Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan have not.

Nuclear-Free Zones

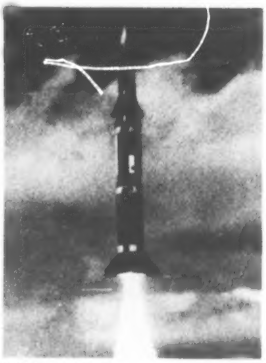
Two regions of the world, Latin America and the South Pacific, have tried to establish "nuclear-free zones." The Treaty of Tlatelolco and the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty ban the testing, manufacture, and acquisition of nuclear weapons and request nations possessing nuclear weapons to agree not to bring such weapons into these areas.


Nations with nuclear weapons
Suspected of having nuclear weapons
Believed to be developing nuclear weapons
The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The Nuclear Club's Next Member. In 1974, India exploded a nuclear bomb for what it called "peaceful purposes." This explosion united the industrialized world on the need to adopt stronger measures to stop nuclear proliferation. In 1975, fifteen countries that supplied nuclear technology met in London to discuss export controls. Three years later, this group released "supplier guidelines" that required customers to promise not to make nuclear explosives, to keep all nuclear materials under guard, and to abide by IAEA safeguards on new nuclear technology and materials. The United States and the Soviet Union proposed even stronger guidelines—including IAEA inspection of all nuclear facilities and materials whether new or old—but this proposal was not approved.

U.S. Nuclear Nonproliferation Act (1978). In 1978, Congress voted almost unanimously to support the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act. This act restricts the export of U.S. nuclear materials, equipment, and technology to countries suspected of developing nuclear weapons. It also reinforced earlier legislation that imposed restrictions on American foreign aid to such countries and was an example of the toughening international attitude toward controlling nuclear proliferation.



U.S. Army

Once a nation develops a nuclear weapon, it must have a way of getting it to a target. Delivery systems—such as airplanes and rockets—are as important as the weapon itself.

Review of Nonproliferation Treaty (1985). In 1985, the signatories of the 1968 United Nations (UN) Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty met to review progress made under the treaty. Most of the 130 delegates concluded that the treaty had helped to slow the spread of nuclear weapons but that the United States and the Soviet Union were not living up to their agreement to negotiate an end to the arms race. The delegates also accused the superpowers of not abiding by the treaty's conditions of sharing peaceful nuclear technology. The nonnuclear nations warned that, unless the United States and the Soviet Union lived up to their responsibilities, the treaty might not be renewed when it expires in 1995.

The Next Nuclear Nations. According to many experts, seven more nations—Argentina, Brazil, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Pakistan, and South Africa—may have, or may be capable of making, nuclear bombs within a few years. Some experts believe that Israel may already possess a nuclear arsenal of 100 to 200 warheads. Many of these countries are involved in disputes with their neighbors or with the superpowers. Faced by regional or nuclear adversaries, such nations may desire nuclear weapons to tip the balance in their favor. Or they may want the power and prestige that come from developing a nuclear arsenal.

The United States, China, and France sometimes supply nations with the knowledge, technology, and materials to construct nuclear reactors. But the materials and technology they sell can be used to develop nuclear weapons as well. Although most nuclear transfers take place under internationally approved safeguards, it is still possible for a determined country to develop nuclear bombs despite the watchdogs who monitor nuclear facilities. Nuclear fuel can be diverted secretly from peaceful nuclear facilities to reprocessing plants where weapons-grade material is separated out. The lower-grade fuel is then returned to the original facility being monitored by the IAEA. Many experts believe that once a country has a "peaceful" nuclear reactor, it has completed the first step toward building nuclear weapons.

One nation with nuclear potential, Pakistan, creates special problems for the United States. The United States gives Pakistan about $581 million in economic and military aid each year. However, if Pakistan builds nuclear weapons, the U.S. government is required by law to suspend all aid. Such a move could ruin relations between the two countries and harm U.S. interests in southern Asia.

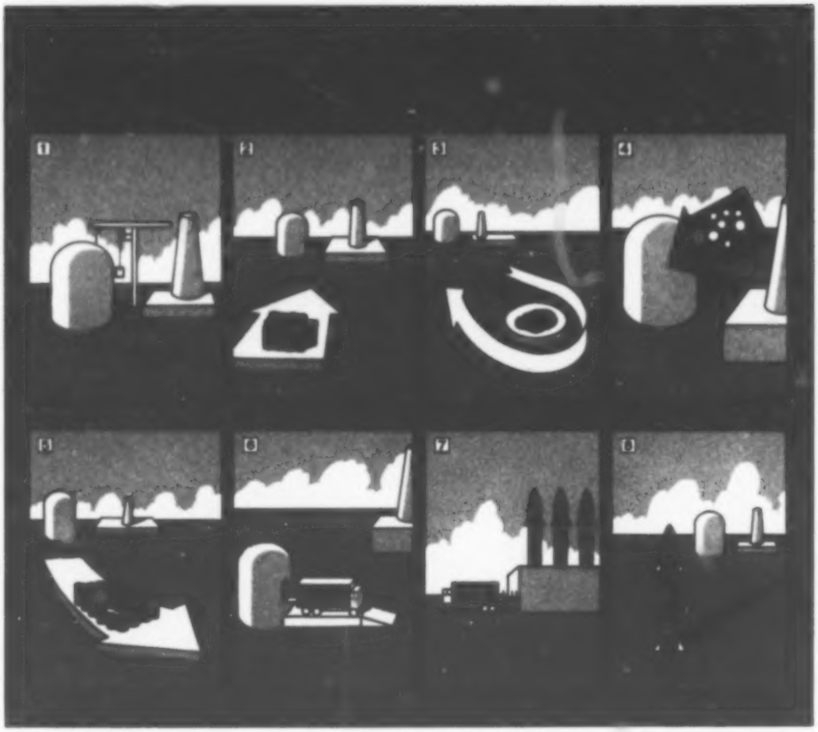
Space- and Sea-Based Weapons

To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, more than eighty nations have signed the Outer Space Treaty and the Seabed Treaty. These treaties ban nuclear weapons in earth orbit, in outer space, and on the seabed more than twelve miles from a coastline.

Current Issues

How Effective Are Current Safeguards? Many experts think that nuclear proliferation can be controlled but not stopped. They point out that the spread of nuclear weapons has slowed over the past twenty-five years. No new nations have admitted building nuclear weapons since 1964, and only India has exploded an atomic device since then. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has been signed by 136 nations, and although China has not signed the treaty, it has joined the IAEA.

An important part of this nuclear slowdown, these experts argue, is the willingness of the international community to work together. Concern over the spread of nuclear weapons transcends



Despite international safeguards, a nonnuclear nation may be able to secretly obtain plutonium, which is essential to the building of nuclear weapons.

1 ***With foreign help, nation builds nuclear reactor to produce electricity or conduct research.***

2 ***Under international supervision, nation buys enriched fuel to run reactor.***

3 ***Nation then secretly buys unsafeguarded "yellowcake" (crushed uranium ore) and converts it into pellets of uranium metal.***

(continued on page 295)

ideological and political boundaries. Using diplomatic pressure, the threat of trade sanctions, and the threat of cutting off future nuclear cooperation, nations that supply peaceful nuclear technology have made other nations think twice about developing nuclear weapons.

Some experts, however, fear that international unity on nuclear proliferation is impossible. They point to disagreements on how to approach the problem, inconsistency in policy, and ineffective enforcement of international safeguards. They say that some nations will always want to develop nuclear weapons and that other nations will always be willing to provide the tools. As a result, these experts say, nuclear proliferation may soon increase.

Will Cooperation Work? Many leaders argue that current international safeguards, such as on-site inspections, are inadequate. Development of nuclear weapons is not always detected, and nations do not expect to be punished if they build nuclear arms. Because no international organization has the power to take significant action against such nations, some countries are led to take their own protective measures. For example, in June 1981, Israeli jets destroyed Iraq's French-built nuclear reactor. Although Iraq had agreed to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the Israelis claimed Iraq was in fact developing an atomic weapon. Believing that the safeguard had failed, Israel decided it had to act on its own to protect its national security. Experts say that this incident shows how little some nations trust the international community to stop the spread of nuclear arms.

Unless safeguards are strengthened, many believe that other nations could take similar actions. However, others contend that no level of international safeguards can guarantee that nuclear reactors will not be used to make nuclear bombs. They point out that transfers of peaceful nuclear technology and materials—used for energy production—can also be used to develop nuclear weapons.

Restricting Sales of Nuclear Technology. Some U.S. leaders have urged that the United States should set an example for the world by sharply restricting American sales of nuclear technology because it might be used for military purposes. These leaders urged Congress to pass the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, which denied nuclear technology to countries that the United States suspected might be developing nuclear weapons.

But opponents of this approach argue that overly strict U.S. controls are ineffective because nations can easily find nuclear fuel and technical

4 ***Pellets are secretly placed in nuclear reactor. Reactor bombards pellets with radiation, converting some uranium pellets into plutonium.***

5 ***When original fuel is "burned up," it is removed from reactor under international supervision.***

6 ***Pellets are secretly removed from reactor and taken to unwatched "hot cell" where plutonium is extracted from pellets.***

7 ***Extracted plutonium is sent to a "bomb factory" and placed in a preconstructed weapon.***

8 ***Nuclear weapon.***

Sacramento Municipal Utility District

Some nuclear nations have agreed to sell, trade, or transfer the technology needed to build energy-producing reactors to nonnuclear nations. However, experts warn that the transfer of peaceful nuclear technology can be used to develop nuclear weapons.

know-how elsewhere. They say that the United States should not deny nuclear technology to "nonrisk" nations—nations that are not seeking nuclear weapons. They argue that the United States can better control nuclear proliferation by being a predictable supplier of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

Selling Conventional Arms. Another U.S. strategy to control nuclear proliferation is to increase the sale of *conventional*, or nonnuclear, arms. Proponents of this view claim that if nations seek nuclear weapons as security against potential attack, then selling them sophisticated conventional arms would decrease their insecurity and thus reduce their desire for nuclear arms. They also maintain that nonnuclear weapons are less likely to cause increased levels of violence and are less deadly than nuclear weapons.

However, critics of this approach say that selling weapons to insecure countries only makes them more likely to get involved in war and in no way reduces their desire for the ultimate weapon, the nuclear bomb. Critics point to Pakistan as an example of the failure of selling conventional arms. Although the Bush administration determined that Pakistan does not have nuclear weapons, many experts believe that Pakistan could assemble a nuclear bomb in a few months. In recent years, Pakistani scientists have made highly enriched nuclear fuel, tested special detonators that trigger atomic explosions, and test-fired a missile capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

Outlook

World leaders often disagree about the future of nuclear proliferation. As they grapple with controlling the spread of nuclear weapons, a few analysts argue that proliferation is not a problem. They are even saying that nuclear weapons have kept the peace between the Soviet Union and the United States for more than forty years and could do the same in regional disputes. If enemy nations had nuclear weapons, each one would hesitate to use them for fear of nuclear retaliation.

But a majority of experts disagrees with this view. They argue that proliferation upsets the traditional relationships between nations, thus increasing the danger of nuclear war. Nations with large armies no longer have a decided military advantage over nations with small armies because of the presence of nuclear weapons, and conflicts now between two adversaries could quickly escalate into worldwide nuclear war. For many of the world's leaders, nuclear proliferation is still a very dangerous problem. Their concern is that as the number of nations with nuclear weapons grows, the risk of nuclear war also grows.

The Debate

Nuclear Proliferation

Are Current Safeguards Adequate?

PRO

Current safeguards have been effective in slowing the spread of nuclear weapons. No new nations have admitted building nuclear weapons since 1964, and the current system of using diplomatic pressure, trade sanctions, and the threat of cutting off future nuclear cooperation has made many nations think twice about developing nuclear weapons.

CON

Current safeguards are not adequate. Some countries are accused of secretly building atomic bombs, proving that there is no foolproof way to prevent nations from becoming nuclear powers. Besides, no international organization has the power to punish nations that decide to build nuclear weapons. What is needed are stronger safeguards, more strictly enforced.

Should the United States Halt Sales of Nuclear Materials and Technology?

PRO

The next country to use the atomic bomb will not be the United States or the Soviet Union. It will be another country that has built a bomb from materials provided by the nuclear club. If the United States continues selling weapons-related material, the question will not be, Who has the bomb? but Who does not? A U.S. ban on the sale of nuclear technology would limit the amount available and set a worthy example to other nuclear-exporting countries.

CON

Halting sales of weapons-related materials and technology would only work if the United States were the sole supplier. Twenty-five years ago, the United States might have had such a monopoly, but today other countries are both able and willing to export nuclear materials and technology. Without the support of other countries, a U.S. ban would only result in the loss of business for the American nuclear industry.

Should the United States Use Conventional Arms Sales to Encourage Others Not to Develop Nuclear Weapons?

PRO

The root of the proliferation problem is that nations want to protect themselves from a conventional attack by possessing a superior military force. Increasing a nation's ability to fight a conventional war can help decrease its feelings of insecurity, thus giving it less reason to develop nuclear weapons.

CON

The theory that more conventional weapons offer security and prevent war will not work. Supplying more weapons, especially in volatile regions, will make war more likely, not less. Besides, nations seek nuclear weapons for reasons of prestige—to be the strongest. Selling conventional arms does not get to the root of the problem.

World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

Despite advances in agriculture and medicine, one-fifth of the world's population—1.3 billion people—still live in poverty, many of them suffering from hunger and disease. Analysts estimate that thousands die each day of starvation or preventable diseases.

Every year the United States and other industrialized nations pour billions of dollars into poor, developing countries. This aid provides food for the hungry, medicine for the sick, and education for the young. Foreign aid also helps developing countries defend themselves. The United States gives billions of dollars to friendly nations to buy American-made military equipment, to train soldiers, and to build factories so they can manufacture their own military supplies.

The United States uses foreign aid to promote political or economic interests. For example, most U.S. aid goes to Middle Eastern and Central American countries, where the United States wants to promote peaceful solutions to conflicts or encourage democracy. Aid to foreign countries can also be used to gain and protect allies and to influence the behavior of other nations.

In recent years, foreign aid programs have come under fire. Some critics say that countries that get American dollars often do not act in the best interests of the United States. They wonder if foreign aid really gets to the world's poor or improves U.S. relations with other countries.

Key Questions

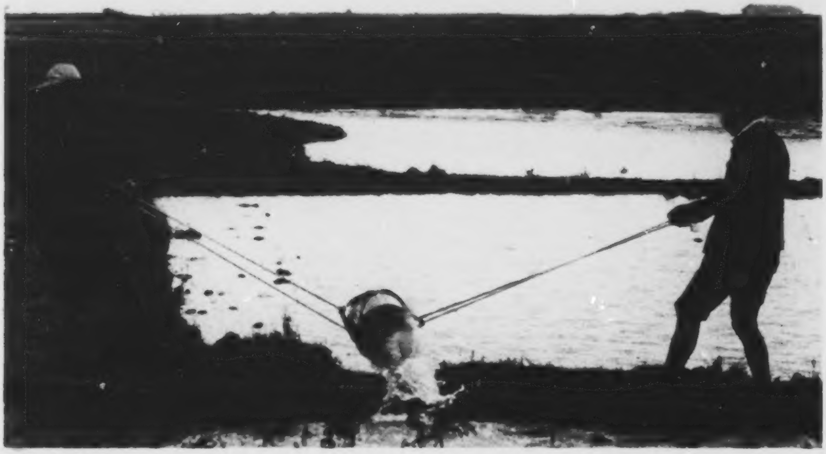
- Should the United States reduce foreign aid?
- Should politics determine which countries receive aid?
- Should the United States send aid to Eastern Europe?

Background

The Terms of Poverty. In international relations, the United States and its allies are often called the First World, and the Soviet Union and its allies, the Second World. Many poor—often called developing—countries, especially those not allied with the United States or the Soviet Union, are referred to as the Third World. The poorest of the poor countries—such as Bangladesh, Nepal, Haiti, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Burundi—are sometimes called the Fourth World. The equator is also used to distinguish between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South, since most of the poor nations are in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Pattern of Poverty. More than one billion people live in conditions unimaginable to most Americans. In developing countries, most roads are unpaved. Few villages have plumbing and electricity. Farming is still done with the most

Many farmers in less developed countries rely on hand labor to produce only enough food for their families to survive. Natural disasters such as droughts or floods can be devastating to people who depend on good growing conditions throughout the year.



AP/Wide World Photos

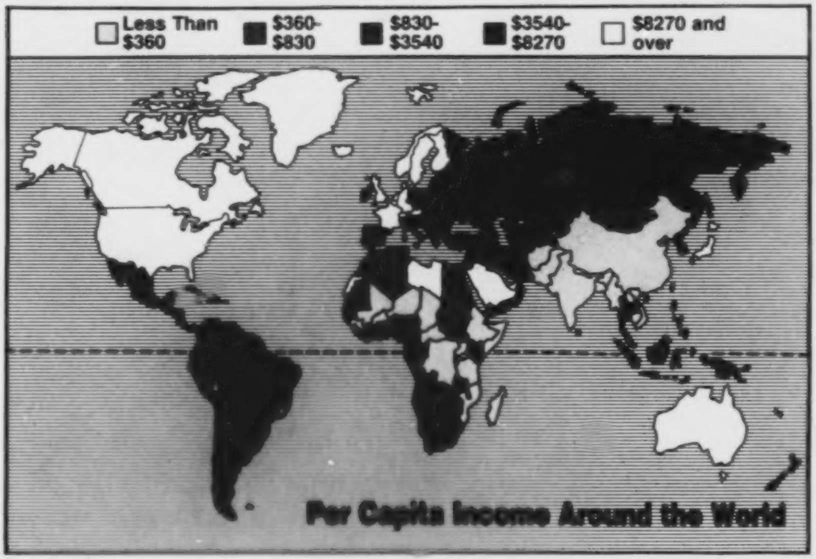
basic tools and techniques, and there is little industry. Health standards are very low, leading to a short life span, rampant disease, and a high rate of infant mortality. Often more than 50 percent of the population cannot read or write. In most countries, land and income are unequally distributed. Average incomes in Third World countries are often low, although a small percentage of people enjoy considerable wealth.

World Hunger. The poor are also hungry. Despite advances in agricultural technology and years of international aid programs, there are more starving and malnourished people today than ever before. Between 13 and 18 million people die from hunger every year—more than 35,000 people a day. According to population experts, as many as one billion people suffer from *undernourishment* (a lack of protein and calories) or *malnutrition* (a lack of proper nutrients). In the 1950s, one out of every fifteen people in the world were malnourished; today that rate has increased, in part because of the continuing growth of world population. Suggested ways to combat hunger include family planning programs, more efficient farming methods, and larger international assistance programs. But so far, many governments have been unable or unwilling to provide anything more than stopgap measures.

United Nations

Around the world, more than one billion people suffer from hunger. Although many countries, including the United States, provide humanitarian assistance to relieve hunger, the problem continues to grow.

In the early 1980s, many African countries suffered the worst drought and famine in this century. The drought was intensified by inadequate food distribution systems, inefficient economic policies, a twenty-year pattern of declining food production, and civil war. The most severely affected areas were in Ethiopia, Ghana, Mauritania, Mozambique, the Central African Republic, Chad, and the Sudan. Many foreign aid experts predict that for years to come Africa will suffer from increasingly severe food shortages, which could eventually affect millions of people.



Source: World Bank

Third World Debt. During the 1970s, many developing countries borrowed huge sums of money from American and European banks to finance industrial development. Faced with a slumping world economy and high interest rates, they have been unable to pay off their loans and have fallen deeply into debt. This large debt has sharply curtailed their economic development. Poor oil-producing countries, such as Mexico and Nigeria, have been hit especially hard because the price of oil dropped dramatically in 1985-86. These countries were relying on oil revenues to pay off their debts. In 1987, Brazil—the largest debtor nation in Latin America—announced that it could no longer pay the interest on its $108 billion debt. Some experts warned that Brazil's announcement could threaten the stability of the international banking system.

Why Help the Third World? The United States provides foreign aid to the Third World for several reasons. First, the U.S. government gives aid to friendly countries to maintain a strong alliance system around the world. Strong allies improve the national security of the United States. Second, U.S. aid helps raise the standard of living of Third World countries, enabling them to buy more American products. Seventy percent of U.S. aid funds are spent on American goods and services. Third, the United States uses foreign aid to promote political stability in a region by providing governments with military equipment and funds for economic development. And fourth, the United States provides aid for humanitarian reasons—to feed the hungry, treat the sick, and help the poor.

U.S. Foreign Aid Programs. Every year, the United States gives about $15 billion to other countries, most of them poor. U.S. aid is mostly *bilateral*—it goes directly from the United States to another country—and is broken into two categories: (1) development and humanitarian assistance and (2) security assistance. Development and humanitarian assistance is used to build roads, power plants, schools, and hospitals, and to provide food for the hungry. The funds are channeled through the Agency for International Development (AID), which oversees a variety of programs. For example:

- Agriculture, rural development, and nutrition programs help to increase agricultural production in other countries.
- The Food for Peace Program provides low-cost American grain to countries having difficulty feeding their people.
- The Sahel Development Program aids countries that border the Sahara become self-sufficient food producers.
- Population planning programs aim to reduce population growth through family planning.
- The Child Survival Fund immunizes children against disease and improves their diet.

Third World Debt

Third World countries owe an estimated $1.3 trillion to foreign banks. Some of these countries cannot even pay the interest on the money they borrowed. In 1989, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady proposed a plan to help these nations pay their debts. He suggested that:

- **banks voluntarily reduce loan and interest payments**
- **banks lend new money to Third World nations to help them build their economies**
- **the World Bank and International Monetary Fund help Third World nations pay their debts**

Agency for International Development

Working through the Agency for International Development (AID), the Food for Peace program provides food to hungry nations in times of emergency. Food for Peace sends flour, rice, and other food products to starving nations around the world.

AID also funds programs that help countries resettle refugees left homeless by famine, natural disaster, or war.

The United States provides security assistance to strengthen the armed forces and economies of friendly governments. The United States provides governments with money to buy American-made weapons, airplanes and military vehicles, and to train soldiers for their national defense. Another component of security assistance is the Economic Support Fund (ESF), which grants money to friendly governments for general budget use and to finance development projects. American officials believe that the ESF is vital to ensuring that governments of U.S. allies remain stable.

Multilateral Aid. The United States also gives money to international organizations. These organizations then distribute money to needy countries to help them combat specific problems. This type of aid is called *multilateral* because it is received by many nations. The two largest multilateral aid sources are the World Bank and the

United Nations Development Program. Both organizations grant aid based on need rather than politics.

Current Issues

U.S. Foreign Aid Policies. Many experts say that foreign aid is a powerful tool in promoting American interests overseas. They believe that foreign aid should be used to accomplish two specific foreign policy objectives: (1) to bring peace to the Middle East and (2) to promote American interests in Central America and the Caribbean basin. These two areas receive more U.S. foreign aid than any other region in the world, and the percentage is increasing. Other—often poorer—countries currently receive less money because they are not considered as important to American security. Critics have said that this strategy is shortsighted. They argue that granting the majority of foreign aid funds to only two areas of the world creates resentment against the United States and forces other countries to look toward the Soviet Union for help.

In addition, some experts believe that Third World interests are better served by open trade and increased private investment than by "handouts" from the developed world. They liken U.S. aid programs to the saying "if you give a man a fish, he will eat for a day; if you teach him to fish, he will eat for the rest of his life." They believe that the United States should encourage developing countries to transfer government services—such as supplying housing, energy, and transportation—to private industry. They point to Jamaica, where the government leased hotels to private companies, and to Bangladesh, where private businesses now distribute the nation's fertilizer, as successful examples of "privatization."

Critics of open trade and increased private investment say that such policies are not easing poverty in the Third World and are actually hindering development. They argue that more private investment may increase the power of U.S.-based multinational corporations to dominate the economies of Third World nations. Third World leaders also reject the belief that free-market investment will improve their countries' plight. They say that the private sector is not yet sophisticated enough to provide goods and services for an entire nation. They believe that only their governments have the money, power, and organization to build large-scale projects such as railroads, roads, irrigation systems, and dams.

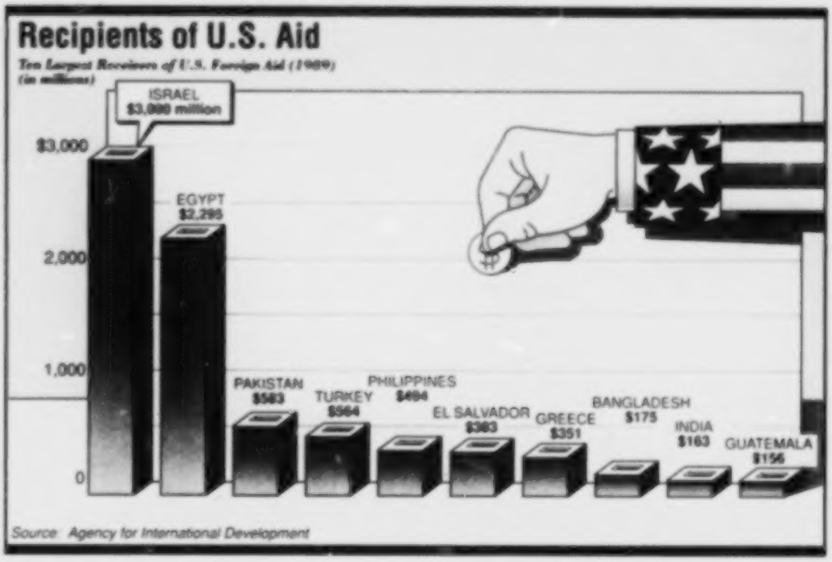
Peace Corps

Today, 6,000 Peace Corps volunteers provide health and education services in sixty-five countries. Many policymakers believe that in addition to offering beneficial services to the world's poor, Peace Corps volunteers promote goodwill toward the United States.

Criteria for Aid: Need vs. Politics. To whom should American foreign aid be given? Some experts say it should go directly to people most in need in extremely poor countries such as Ethiopia and Sierra Leone. Others say that aid should go only to the most important political and military allies of the United States.

Traditionally, the United States has provided the most aid to its allies. During the 1950s, the United States concentrated on aiding the poor countries whose political support it most wanted. In the early 1960s, under the Alliance for Progress program, the United States used foreign aid to prevent communism from spreading in Latin America. In the 1970s and 1980s, the United States sent large amounts of military and economic aid to the Philippines.

The same philosophy underlies U.S. foreign aid programs today. The government gives economic and military assistance to governments facing internal threats from communist guerrillas as well as to those countries in important strategic locations. Many members of Congress believe that a combination of economic and military aid decreases communist influence in an area. The



Recipients of U.S. Aid

Ten Largest Receivers of U.S. Foreign Aid (1989) (in millions)

Source: Agency for International Development

four largest recipients of U.S. foreign aid—Israel, Egypt, Pakistan, and Turkey—occupy important positions in the Middle East or along the border of the Soviet Union.

The United States government has increased its foreign aid budget in the past few years. In 1988, U.S. economic and military aid to other nations totaled $6.3 billion. Foreign aid spending increased to $11.2 billion in 1990 and by 1991 is expected to total $14.2 billion.

Many Americans criticize U.S. foreign aid programs, but for different reasons. Some believe that the United States spends too much on foreign aid. This group points to the huge federal budget deficit, saying that the United States should meet its own needs before sending money to poor countries. Others criticize the government's emphasis on U.S. security interests, maintaining that human need, not politics, should be the key factor when allotting aid.

Aid to Eastern Europe. In 1989, six Eastern European countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania—took steps to abandon their communist systems for democratic and economic reforms. The economies in many of these nations were in ruins. Factories were outdated, and productivity was low.

Consumers were upset because the products they wanted were either of low quality or in short supply. Eastern European economies were years behind economic development in Western Europe.

Faced with the changes in Eastern Europe, some members of Congress call for an economic aid program to help those countries establish a market-oriented economy. Some say that the United States should send billions of dollars to help rebuild the economies of Eastern Europe, just as it helped rebuild Western Europe after World War II. In 1989, Congress approved an aid package of $938 million for Poland and Hungary. Some members of Congress say that more aid is needed and that similar programs should be established for all the countries of Eastern Europe. They claim that American aid will lessen tension between the United States and Eastern Europe and reduce the threat of war.

Other senators and representatives say that the United States should not increase foreign aid to Eastern Europe. They claim that the government cannot afford to increase foreign aid funds when it faces a budget deficit and budget cuts at home. Some opponents of aid to Eastern Europe argue that increased funding for Eastern Europe means reduced aid for other nations. These critics say that the world's poorest nations, especially in Africa, and important strategic allies in the Middle East, such as Israel and Egypt, will suffer unfairly from any aid cuts that will be needed to assist Eastern Europe. Other policymakers argue that it is still too early to see if the new governments in Eastern Europe will survive. They say that the United States should delay giving aid until the new East European governments have truly abandoned communism and have begun to build free, democratic societies.

Outlook

Over the years, U.S. foreign aid has served many purposes. It has helped to decrease poverty and improve the lives of the world's poor. It has been used to promote political stability in troubled regions of the world, particularly Central America and the Middle East. Today, lawmakers are debating how much money the United States should spend to continue existing aid programs and to encourage the new governments in Eastern Europe to adopt democracy and market-driven economies. At a time when no federal programs are safe from budget cuts, U.S. leaders must decide if the potential benefits of foreign aid are worth the billions of dollars the government sends to other nations each year.

The Debate World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

Should the United States Reduce Foreign Aid?

PRO

The United States cannot afford the foreign aid it now gives. The first priority of the federal government must be to reduce the budget deficit. Although the United States has pumped millions of dollars into the Third World, poverty and hunger still prevail, and many recipient countries do not act in the best interests of the United States.

CON

Foreign aid is an inexpensive way of promoting U.S. interests. Aid programs create long-term friendships throughout the world. In addition, many aid programs are tied to long-term contracts for American business—contracts that benefit the U.S. economy. Finally, foreign aid saves lives. The United States has a moral responsibility to help people in need.

Should Politics Determine Which Countries Receive Aid?

PRO

Foreign aid is a legitimate tool of foreign policy. The United States should not give aid to unfriendly governments. In particular, the government should stop supporting multilateral institutions that spend American dollars on projects in unfriendly countries. Though the United States should help the poor of the world, its funds are limited and should go to poor, but friendly, nations.

CON

Human need, not politics, should be the basis for giving aid. People's lives are at stake. The poor and starving citizens of underdeveloped Third World countries should not be used as pawns in an ideological battle. To the extent that political criteria are used, the United States should favor democratic governments that respect the human rights of their citizens. Too much aid goes to "friendly" dictators who violate their citizens' rights.

Should the United States Send Aid to Eastern Europe?

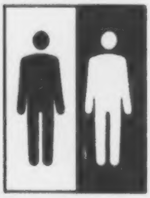
PRO

The United States should help rebuild the economies of Eastern Europe just as it helped Western Europe forty-five years ago. Money from the United States can help encourage the East Europeans to adopt democracy and market economies. If economic aid accomplishes these goals, the United States will have new trading partners and will be able to reduce spending on West European defense. Without economic aid, the new democracies may not survive.

CON

Sending economic aid to Eastern Europe will mean reducing aid to the world's poorest nations. Some African countries risk being eliminated from U.S. aid programs. In addition, it is still too early to tell if reform-minded East European leaders will be successful. Before it sends aid, the U.S. government should be sure that the new governments in Eastern Europe will grant freedom and democracy.

South Africa



South Africa is a racially divided nation. Strict racial segregation, called apartheid, is the official government policy. Although black Africans constitute 73 percent of the population, they have few political or civil rights. Increasingly, blacks in South Africa have been taking action—both violent and nonviolent—against apartheid.

In 1986, the South African government responded to mounting civil unrest by banning anti-apartheid organizations, temporarily shutting down newspapers, and declaring a state of emergency under which police could jail potential troublemakers without a trial. However, new leaders in South Africa have begun to adopt reforms. They have allowed peaceful anti-government protests and have legalized thirty banned opposition groups, including the oldest and most well known, the African National Congress (ANC). South Africa's president also released from prison former ANC president, Nelson Mandela, who had been given a life sentence in 1962. Some South Africans think these steps and other political reforms will lead to the sharing of power between the races.

The U.S. government has tried to promote reform in South Africa by imposing economic sanctions and by using behind-the-scenes diplomacy to pressure the government to change apartheid. In light of recent changes, the United States must reevaluate its foreign policy toward South Africa. U.S. lawmakers must now decide whether removing the sanctions, keeping them in place, or using diplomacy will best help bring about the peaceful reform of South Africa's racial segregation policy.

Key Questions

- Is "quiet diplomacy" the best U.S. response to South Africa?
- Should the United States remove economic sanctions?
- Should American companies operate in South Africa?

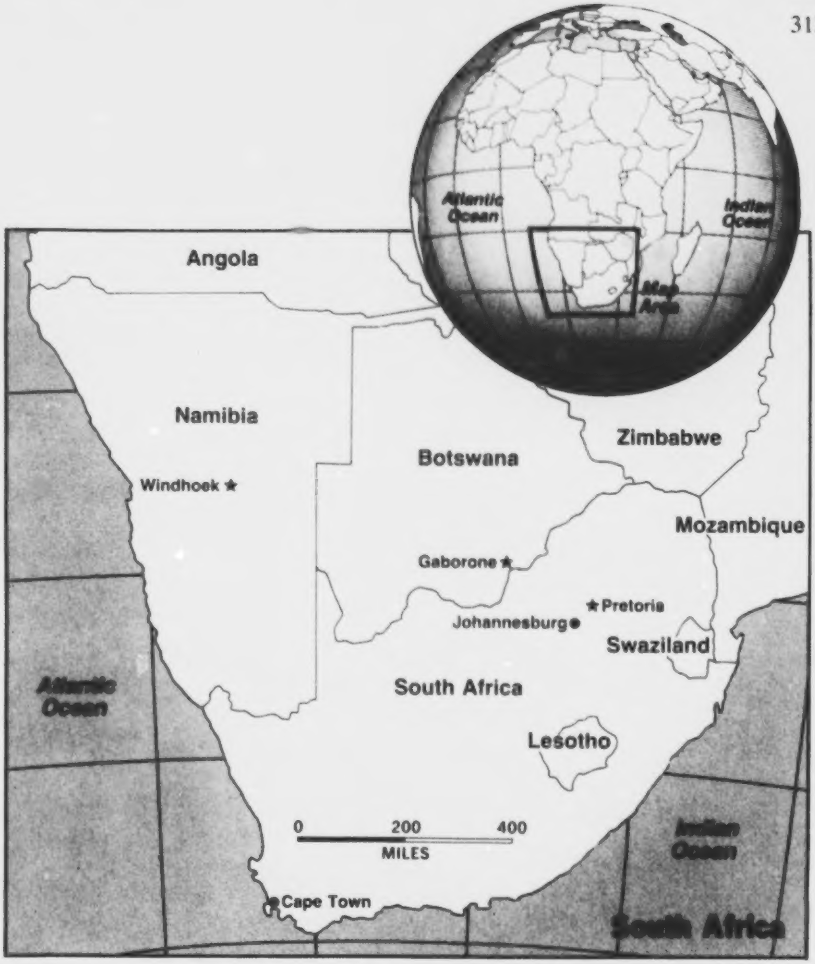
Background

Republic of South Africa

European Settlement. Before the arrival of the Europeans, Khoikhoi shepherds and San hunters occupied the southwestern portion of what is now South Africa. Various African tribes settled the southeastern and northern areas as early as the third century. The first permanent European settlement, Cape Town, was established on the southwestern coastline in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch, German, and French Huguenot settlers who immigrated to this area became known as Afrikaners. Over time they developed their own economy, culture, and language, *Afrikaans*.

In 1806, Great Britain annexed the Cape Town colony to its growing empire and began encouraging English emigrants to settle in the area. By the 1830s, Afrikaners, unhappy with British rule, began an exodus into the northern and eastern interior where the Zulu and Nguni tribes had long been settled. This exodus is remembered in Afrikaner history as the Great Trek.

Afrikaners often clashed with both the British and the Africans during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most notable conflict was the Boer War, fought in the 1890s, which pitted Afrikaner Boers (farmers) against the British. Though the Afrikaners lost, they were promised early self-government. Thus, in 1910, the Union of South Africa achieved commonwealth status within the British Empire, giving the country more self-rule. In 1933, South Africa became virtually independent, although it remained in the British Commonwealth until 1961 when it declared itself a republic.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Indian Ocean
Map Area
Angola
Namibia
Windhoek
Botswana
Zimbabwe
Mozambique
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Indian Ocean
Cape Town
South Africa

Apartheid. In the first half of the twentieth century, most white South Africans believed that black people were inherently unequal to whites. Both Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans shared these views. But *apartheid*, the formal system of racial segregation, was not instituted until 1948, when the Afrikaner-dominated National party was elected into office. Translated from Afrikaans, "apartheid" means "separateness" and refers to the South African government's policy of racial segregation and its refusal to grant political power to the black majority.

The white minority government believed that apartheid was an appropriate political structure for South Africa, considering it to be a form of "cooperative coexistence." The government said that South Africa is composed of many minorities—the blacks being split between different tribal groups—and that violence and chaos would result if the whites lost control. The government also claimed that apartheid allowed native black Africans to preserve their cultural heritage by protecting them from the cultures of other races.

Critics of apartheid believe that the system perpetuates extreme inequality for blacks, coloreds (the official term for racially mixed individuals in South Africa), and Asians. Wages as well as education and health care standards in South Africa are lower for blacks than they are for whites. The white standard of living there is one of the highest in the world, but most blacks live in poverty. Blacks have fewer educational opportunities. Health care for blacks in South Africa is so poor that the infant mortality rate is eight to ten times higher than it is for whites.

Blacks in South Africa are denied many political rights. They lack the guarantees that whites enjoy to a fair trial and to protection against arbitrary arrest, searches, and police harassment. About 28 million blacks cannot vote in national elections.

Recently, South Africa began making reforms in its system of apartheid. The government now acknowledges the "permanence" of blacks in South Africa, condones interracial marriage, and allows some blacks to own property. The government also abolished passbooks, which contained information on tribal heritage and limited where blacks could travel within South Africa. Local communities are now free to integrate beaches and public restrooms, and foreign-owned hotels and restaurants may now serve blacks. In addition, the South African government recognizes black

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Elections in 1988 found the Conservative party winning control of many city and town councils. The Conservative party wants to overturn the changes in apartheid policies that have been instituted by the South African government. Signs that used to segregate parks and other public places—taken down in 1987—were ordered put back up by Conservative party-controlled town councils.

unions, which have the power to negotiate new wage contracts, although white workers still earn far more than black workers.

Homelands Policy. For thirty years, the South African government has promoted a controversial "homelands" policy. The government says that by establishing ten homelands for major African ethnic groups, it can create self-rule among its black citizens. The government also believes that the homelands will improve interracial relations and enable blacks to preserve their native cultures. Millions of blacks have been resettled in these areas.

Critics of the homelands policy paint a more dismal picture. They say that the homelands are part of a separatist policy designed to strengthen white rule in South Africa. The homelands are overcrowded—encompassing only 13 percent of South Africa's land area—and are generally un-suitable for farming. Most contain few industrial or mineral resources, have high unemployment rates, and are dependent on the white government of South Africa for economic aid. Many blacks in the homelands must take jobs in "white" South Africa to survive. The government restricts the number of workers who can migrate from the homelands and prohibits workers from bringing their families into white areas.

Domestic Opposition to Apartheid. Within South Africa, several groups are working to abolish apartheid. The ANC is the oldest and best known of these groups. In 1989, the South African government legalized the ANC and thirty other anti-apartheid groups. The government also freed Nelson Mandela, former president of the ANC, who was imprisoned for sabotage in 1962. Many consider Mandela to be the symbolic leader of the anti-apartheid movement.

Other anti-apartheid groups are trying to negotiate with the government to ensure that political change comes peacefully. Such groups include the following:

- the Mass Democratic Movement, a coalition of anti-apartheid groups, including the multiracial United Democratic Front with three million members and the Congress of South African Trade Unions with one million black members
- the South African Council of Churches, whose membership includes Bishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize
- the Progressive Federal party, a white opposition party that supports full citizenship for all South Africans
- the Inkatha, a black organization with more than 1.3 million members

AWU
Peace in our city
Stop the killings

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

During the 1980s, blacks in South Africa protested against the white government for higher wages, increased educational opportunities, and greater political representation. Many times, the government reacted strongly to the protests, suppressing them with force and granting the police wide-ranging powers.

World Opposition to Apartheid. International opposition to apartheid has been strong and highly vocal, especially in the United Nations (UN). During the 1950s, the UN appealed to South Africa to end apartheid. South Africa's government responded that the matter is a domestic issue and outside the jurisdiction of the UN. In 1962, the UN General Assembly asked member states to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, boycott South African goods, and stop exporting certain goods to South Africa, especially arms. In the years that followed, the UN continued to condemn specific South African policies, including establishment of the homelands. In 1978, the UN Security Council made the arms embargo against South Africa mandatory—the first time the council had taken such strong action against a member nation. The General Assembly also requested member nations to stop participating in joint sports events with South Africa. As a result, South African athletes may no longer participate in the Olympic Games.

Thus far, neither economic boycotts nor arms embargoes have succeeded in forcing South Africa to end apartheid. In large part, economic boycotts have failed because they have only slightly affected South Africa's economy. South Africa contains rich supplies of precious and other metals that are in constant demand in the world market. In addition, although the countries that surround South Africa adamantly oppose apartheid, they rely on South Africa for trade, food, and transport. For example, Botswana, a landlocked nation just north of South Africa, depends on South African railroads to transport its imports and exports.

In addition, the effectiveness of the arms embargo has been limited because some nations have violated it. Moreover, South Africa has developed its own sophisticated arms industry and may recently have developed a small nuclear arsenal.

Crisis and Change. For the last several years, the South African government has faced a growing crisis. Since 1984, thousands of South African blacks have engaged in protest demonstrations and boycotts over a wide range of issues including high unemployment, increased rents in urban areas, and equal education. The government reacted strongly to the growing demonstrations and suppressed them with force, at times declaring a state of emergency to restore order in troubled areas. Under a state of emergency, the government gives the police wide-ranging powers to search and seize property, to arrest and detain people without formal charges, to seal off designated areas, and to censor news coverage.

In some cases, younger, more radical blacks began taking violent action against the government. They believed that the time for compromise with the whites had passed. The state of emergency succeeded in reducing political unrest. But the combination of mounting unrest in the black homelands, international pressure to end apartheid, and a weakening economy forced the South

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Nelson Mandela is the former president of the ANC. In 1990, he was released from a South African prison after serving more than twenty-five years of a life sentence for sabotage. Many consider Mandela to be the symbolic leader of the anti-apartheid movement.

African government to institute reforms. These reforms include the following:

- releasing many black activists, including Nelson Mandela, from prison
- establishing the first interracial governing body
- increasing expenditures for black schools by 30 percent a year in the last decade
- desegregating movie houses, drive-in theaters, and beaches
- allowing blacks to legally reside in designated, racially mixed neighborhoods
- removing bans against thirty opposition groups

Although some observers dismiss the recent reforms as "tokenism" and "too little, too late," others believe that such reforms mark the beginning of a process that will eventually lead to the sharing of power in South Africa. At the same time, some whites there worry that recent reforms have gone too far. The Conservative party, which opposes the reform movement, won important victories in recent parliamentary elections. Members of the Conservative party want to ban interracial marriages, abolish interracial governing bodies, and reinstate passbook laws to limit the movement of black workers. Town councils with Conservative party majorities have voted to exclude blacks from public pools, tennis courts, town halls, parks, and sports arenas and have evicted multiracial groups from city-owned buildings.

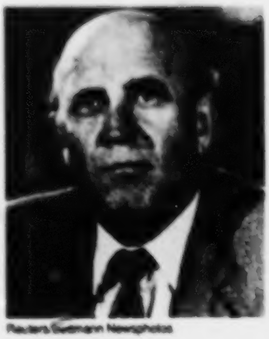
U.S. Policy

American Interests in South Africa. South Africa is important to the United States for a number of reasons. First, the United States wants to curtail Soviet influence in southern Africa, and the present South African government is strongly anti-Soviet. Second, the United States has close trade and economic links with South Africa. Trade between the two countries totals more than $2.5 billion a year. Of all African countries, only oil-rich Nigeria and Algeria export more to the United States, and only Egypt offers a larger African market for U.S. exports. Third, South Africa is a major supplier to the United States of rare minerals such as gold and diamonds and the only U.S. source of chromium and platinum—both essential for the production of military weapons. The only other nation that could supply chromium and platinum in sufficient quantities is the Soviet Union. For these reasons, many analysts consider it vital that South Africa remain under the control of a government friendly to the United States. Others argue that future South African governments—even anti-American ones—will encourage U.S.-South African trade because of the economic benefits for South Africans.

Recent U.S. Policy Toward South Africa. Jimmy Carter was the first U.S. president to incorporate human rights and opposition to apartheid into his foreign policy. In 1978, on the thirtieth anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, President Carter included South Africa on his list of seven nations that "continue to practice repression." U.S.-South African relations cooled further when Carter worked with Great Britain to mediate the transfer of power from whites to blacks in neighboring Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).

President Ronald Reagan believed that Carter's approach failed to alter the power structure in South Africa and hurt U.S. interests in the region. Reagan thought that the best way to bring about peaceful change in South Africa was through "quiet diplomacy," or the policy of "constructive engagement." He emphasized economic cooperation and behind-the-scenes persuasion to urge South Africa to abolish apartheid. However, in 1985, President Reagan changed his policy by imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. Sanctions included banning the sale of computers to the South African military, limiting future loans to the government, and halting the sale of South African gold coins (Krugerrands) in the United States. One year later, Congress enacted even stronger sanctions: It barred future American investment in South Africa; banned the importation of steel, coal, food, and other South African products; and prohibited South African airlines from landing in the United States.

President George Bush opposes any further economic sanctions against South Africa. He believes that the strong measures passed by Congress in 1986 have not been effective and have only hurt black South Africans economically. Instead, President Bush proposes using diplomatic means and negotiations to pressure the South African government to end apartheid. He also favors U.S. actions to strengthen the rights and economic well-being of black South Africans.



Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

South African President Frederik W. de Klerk, who was elected in 1989, is considered a reformer by some observers. He released imprisoned black leader Nelson Mandela and opened whites-only beaches to blacks. De Klerk has proposed an end to the segregation of all public facilities and a new constitution to bring blacks into the government.

Current Issues

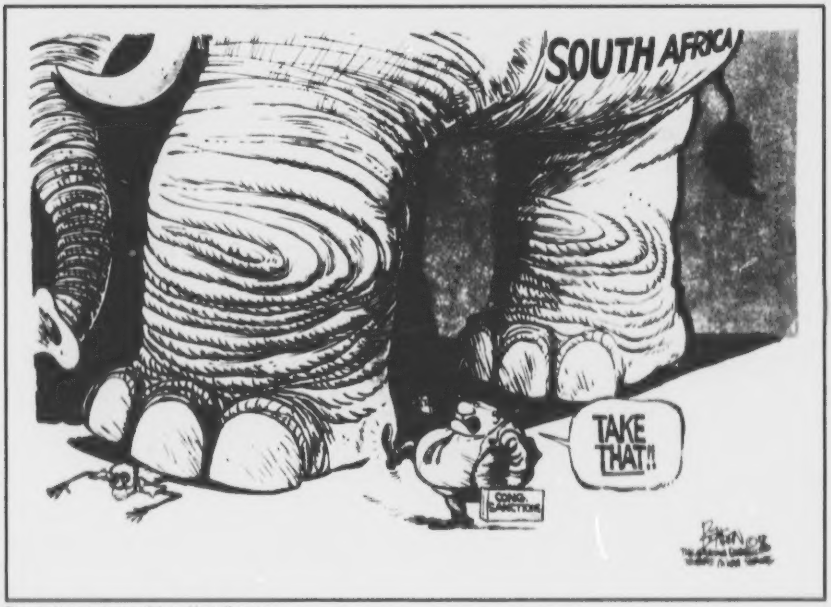
U.S. Policy: Quiet or Public Diplomacy? People in the United States differ on how reform in South Africa can best be accomplished. Some believe that change must be slow and peaceful. They want the U.S. government to practice "quiet diplomacy," which emphasizes economic cooperation and friendly, behind-the-scenes persuasion. According to the supporters of quiet diplomacy, harsh criticism and public pressure make South Africa defensive and more resistant to change.

Other Americans, however, believe that quiet diplomacy is not enough. They claim that unless the United States maintains sanctions and laws to isolate South Africa from the international community, South African authorities will believe that they can continue practicing apartheid without fear of U.S. reprisal. Critics say that quiet diplomacy gives the impression that the United States supports apartheid, a position that weakens U.S. influence throughout the rest of Africa. Moreover, critics say that once the black majority takes over in South Africa, the blacks will remember that the U.S. government did not oppose apartheid strongly enough.

Economic Sanctions

A study on South Africa suggests that by 1990, black unemployment will be up by a half million and that South Africans will be 10 percent poorer than they would have been without economic sanctions and divestment by the United States and other nations.

Economic Sanctions. Some anti-apartheid groups believe that economic sanctions are the most effective way to bring about change in South Africa. They note that economic sanctions helped bring white minority rule to an end in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) during the late 1970s. These groups contend that the South African government will respond only to harsh economic measures. They credit current sanctions with helping to bring about recent reforms in South Africa. They claim that keeping the sanctions in place will continue to pressure the South African government to take steps to abandon apartheid. Advocates of eco-



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nomic sanctions point out that the South African government has not met U.S. conditions for removing the sanctions. Only one condition has been met—legalizing opposition political groups. The 1986 sanction law requires that South Africa also meet three of the four remaining stipulations—freeing all political prisoners, ending emergency rule, repealing racial segregation laws, and negotiating with leaders from the black majority.

Opponents to economic sanctions say that sanctions should be removed. They argue that South Africa is an autonomous country, rich in energy and minerals. Moreover, Afrikaners are proud, independent people who would rather survive on their own than give in to outside pressure. The real loser would be the United States, which depends on South Africa for minerals essential for producing weapons. Some critics of U.S. policy say that sanctions hurt black South Africans more than the white minority government. Others claim that removing the sanctions will reward the South African government for the reforms it has taken so far. They argue that removing the sanctions will help to improve the South African economy and lead to better living conditions for black South Africans. Opponents of sanctions go on to say that removing sanctions will help to reduce unrest in South Africa, which has been partly caused by poor economic conditions.

Divestment. Many Americans argue that private investment in South Africa helps finance apartheid. They believe that U.S. corporations should divest (dismantle) their factories and other operations in South Africa. The loss to the economy would cripple South Africa's government, forcing it to end apartheid. Moreover, supporters of divestment argue that, by continuing business relations with South Africa, the United States is collaborating with the racist government.

However, opponents to divestment believe that reform in South Africa will only occur in an environment of political and economic stability. Divestment would only create economic chaos. They argue that American corporations in South Africa hire black workers, pay them the same wages as whites, and offer them opportunities for career advancement. A sudden withdrawal of U.S. companies from South Africa could hurt thousands of black workers and their families. Many businesses also point out that they follow the Sullivan principles—a code of conduct mandating equal employment practices for black South Africans—and that other companies replacing departing American firms might not offer similar opportunities to blacks.

More than 150 American companies—including Kodak, General Motors, Mobil Oil, and IBM—have pulled out of South Africa. These companies cited declining profits and South Africa's reluctance to end apartheid as reasons for

Violence in South Africa

According to human rights organizations, at least forty-nine political activists have been assassinated in South Africa since 1977. There have also been 160 attempted killings, at least a dozen disappearances, and more than 100 attacks on the property of anti-apartheid and human rights workers.

their departure. But some critics say that most of the withdrawing companies will continue earning money in South Africa through sales of their products by local businesses.

Outlook

Although the white minority government in South Africa has enacted many reforms, the main pillars of apartheid remain in place. More and more blacks in South Africa want "one person, one vote" political representation. Although many black leaders urge peaceful protest to achieve equality, others are prepared to use violence if necessary. The South African government is stable and powerful, and its police and military forces are strong enough to crush internal unrest. For these reasons, many observers believe that the United States and other countries—through economic influence and diplomatic persuasion—can help steer South Africa toward peaceful reform. American policymakers must decide how the U.S. government can most effectively influence South African leaders to change their system and improve the economic and political situation of the country's blacks.

The Debate South Africa

Is "Quiet Diplomacy" the Best U.S. Response to South Africa?

PRO

Friendly persuasion and behind-the-scenes diplomacy are the most effective ways to promote change. If the United States takes a tough stance against South Africa, the government there will only become more resistant to change. Quiet diplomacy permits South Africa to take the steps to end apartheid peacefully. The South African government is moving in that direction.

CON

Quiet diplomacy is not enough. After years of behind-the-scenes pressure from the U.S. government, the main features of apartheid are still in place. Non-whites still face discrimination; they suffer in low-paying jobs, they receive inadequate education and health care, and they are denied the right to vote. The United States should not support South Africa, publicly or privately, until its government ends apartheid.

Should the United States Remove Economic Sanctions?

PRO

South Africa is too self-sufficient for sanctions to have much of an effect on the white minority government. Sanctions simply hurt the black majority, whom the United States claims to be helping. Besides, other nations neutralize U.S. sanctions by investing in and trading with South Africa. Removing the sanctions would also reward the South African government for recent reforms.

CON

South Africa will change only under pressure—through economic sanctions. Removing the sanctions will send the wrong message to the South African government. The U.S. government should not lift the sanctions until South Africa meets the stipulations established by the U.S. sanctions law. So far, the only condition that the South African government has met has been the legalization of opposition groups.

Should American Companies Operate in South Africa?

PRO

Trade with South Africa is vital to the United States. The United States has no other source for many of the minerals South Africa exports. More important, American businesses in South Africa provide jobs and equal opportunity for blacks, even if their society does not. If American businesses pull out, the plight of blacks in South Africa would worsen and social tensions would rise.

CON

American investment in South Africa is nothing less than collaboration with a racist government. The taxes that U.S. corporations pay to the South African government help support white minority rule. The rest of the world sees the American presence in South Africa as support for apartheid. U.S. corporations should not conduct business in South Africa as long as racial discrimination is "business as usual."

Japan

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After World War II, Japan, like Europe, was in ruin. Before surrendering, Japan was devastated by both conventional and nuclear weapons. Many of its cities were destroyed and millions of its soldiers and civilians were dead.

After accepting Japan's surrender, the United States and its former enemy forged a new relationship. From 1945 to 1952, U.S. troops occupied Japan to help maintain peace and security. U.S. officials helped reform the Japanese government, writing a new constitution and arranging free elections. The U.S. government also spent nearly $2 billion restoring Japan's economy and revitalizing its industries. When U.S. troops finally left, the two countries signed a treaty guaranteeing that America would protect Japan if it was attacked.

By the 1960s, Japan's economy was booming. It had the highest sustained rate of economic growth in the world and was turning out high-quality, low-priced products. Americans, who once associated "Made in Japan" with shoddy goods, began buying Japanese-made televisions, cameras, and automobiles. Today, Americans buy more goods from Japan than the Japanese buy from the United States. The trade deficit is around $50 billion a year. This worries many Americans and some accuse Japan of unfair trade practices.

In forty-five years Japan has gone from a defeated nation to an economic superpower. Today, the challenge for U.S. policymakers is to develop a foreign policy that continues to encourage Japanese economic development but does not jeopardize the American economy. Given the history of U.S.-Japanese relations, such a challenge will likely be difficult to meet.

Key Questions

- Should the United States retaliate against restrictive Japanese trade practices?
- Should the government restrict Japanese investment in the United States?
- Should Japan pay more for its own defense?

Background

Japan's Postwar Recovery

American Occupation (1945-1952). On August 6, 1945, the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Three days later a second bomb destroyed Nagasaki. And five days later Japan surrendered, bringing World War II to an end. Japan paid a huge price for its effort to gain control of much of Asia during World War II. Forty percent of its cities were destroyed, and three million of its citizens died in the war. The road to recovery would not be easy.

After its surrender, Japan was placed in the control of U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur. Under MacArthur's direction, the Japanese rebuilt and reformed their industries and schools. Japan's government was restructured under a new constitution that was written in MacArthur's office. The constitution created Japan's first democratic government with a parliament, called the *Diet*, a prime minister, and a Supreme Court that had the power to review laws. The constitution also demilitarized Japan, denying it the right to raise an army.

On August 31, 1945, Japanese officials surrendered to the United States aboard the U.S.S. Missouri *in Tokyo Bay.*

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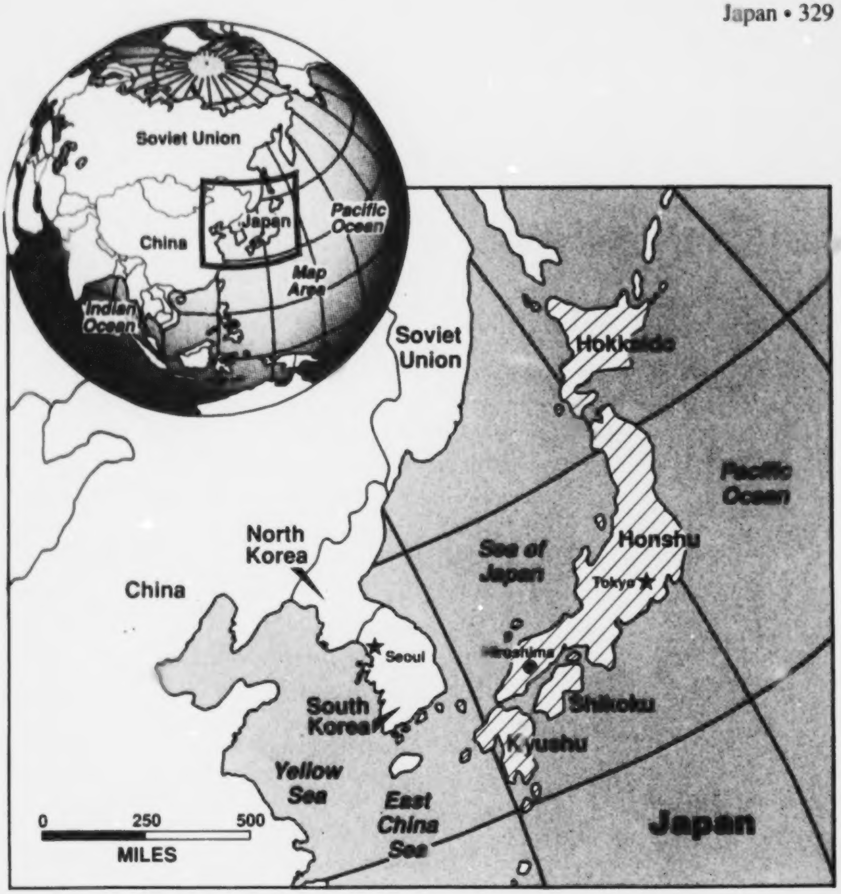
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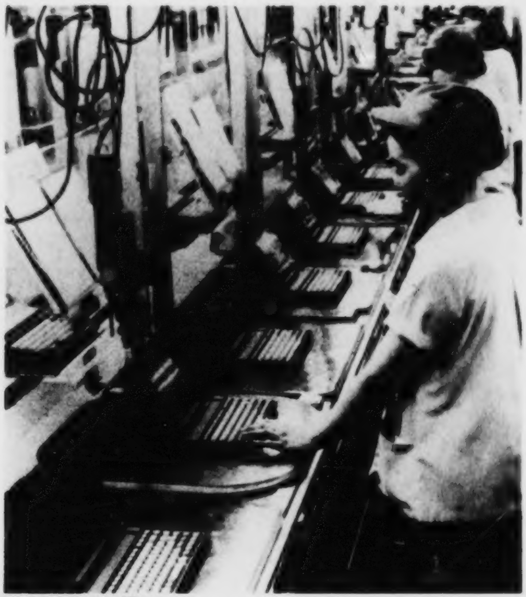
U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty. In 1952, Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States, ending U.S. military occupation. At the same time Japanese leaders agreed to a security treaty that said the United States would defend Japan in case of attack. In exchange, the United States could keep military bases on Japanese soil.

However, the 1952 treaty did recognize Japan's right to defend itself and allowed Japan to retain a police force and a coast guard. During the American occupation, the allied powers helped Japan establish a police force of 75,000 officers and a coast guard of 18,000 sailors. These units eventually became Japan's self-defense forces, fully equipped with modern weapons and responsible for air and sea surveillance within 1,000 miles of Japan's borders.

Today, the Japanese government limits defense spending to no more than 1 percent of its gross national product (GNP). This limit is seen as a symbol of Japan's commitment to maintaining only a defensive, not offensive, military force.

Japan's Economic Miracle. Before World War II, Japan had a reputation for manufacturing poor imitations of foreign goods. When the war was over, Japanese industries found that, because they had focused on producing military equipment before and during the war, they were ten years behind the latest advances in technology and production. But they soon caught up. The Japanese rebuilt their post-war industries with the help of American aid, introduced new management tech-

Today, Japanese factories are among the most productive in the world. Japanese companies are among the world's leaders in manufacturing computer chips and computer equipment.



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niques, and erected trade barriers to protect their new industries. In addition, the perseverance of the Japanese people eventually began to pay off.

By the 1960s, Japanese industries were producing high-quality consumer goods—such as clothing, radios, television sets, cameras, and automobiles. The Japanese government helped its companies grow by supporting potentially prosperous industries with research and development grants and allowing competing companies to work together to develop new technologies and products. The government's efforts were matched by those of the Japanese people. Japan's well-educated workers were able to adopt foreign technology and often improve it. Japanese companies improved productivity by guaranteeing their workers lifetime employment and thereby encouraging company loyalty. As a result of government and industry efforts, Japan's productivity rate began to grow faster than the U.S. productivity rate. Within fifteen years after World War II, Japan was exporting high-quality products to other nations.

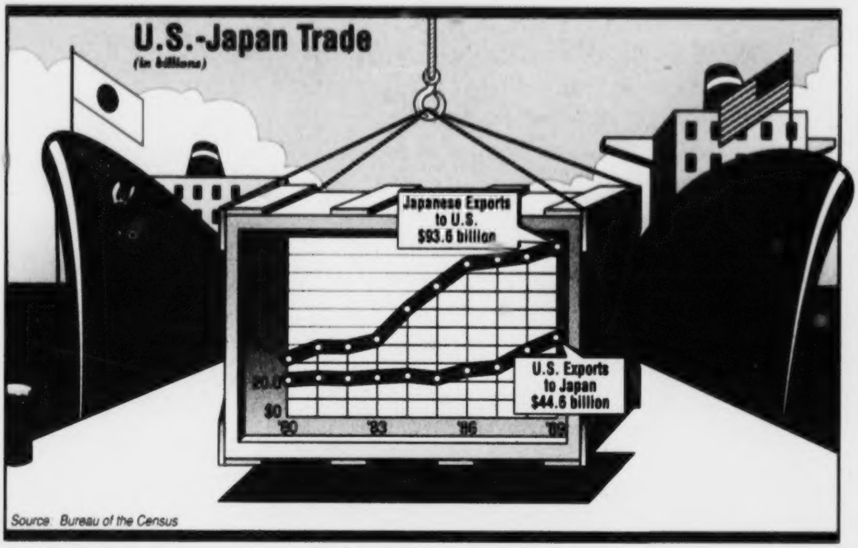
Education in Japan

Some experts attribute Japan's economic growth in part to its well-educated work force. Japanese students spend more time in school than their American counterparts, attending a half day on Saturday and two months longer during the year.

Trade is essential to Japan's economy. The country has few natural resources and must import most of the raw materials that it needs for manufacturing. To pay for these imports, Japan must sell finished goods to other nations. The United States soon became Japan's biggest customer, and by 1965, for the first time Japan exported more products to the U.S. than it purchased in American imports, a trend that continues today.

U.S.-Japanese Relations Today

U.S.-Japanese Trade. The United States is Japan's major supplier of raw materials. The biggest portion of U.S. exports to Japan are goods such as metals, coal, lumber, and food. In return, the Japanese export manufactured goods, including automobiles, machinery, and telecommunications equipment to the United States.



U.S.-Japan Trade
(in billions)

Source: Bureau of the Census

Since 1965, Japan has exported more goods to the United States than the United States exports to Japan. Japan exports manufactured goods such as cars, machines, and telecommunications equipment to the United States. Americans export raw materials such as metal, coal, lumber, and food.

For the last thirty years, Japan and the United States have had a growing trade deficit that has caused conflicts in U.S.-Japanese relations. Over the years, the two countries have negotiated several agreements to increase U.S. exports and reduce Japanese exports in an effort to reduce the trade deficit. For example, Japan has agreed to allow more imports of American beef, oranges, and telephone equipment while reducing its exports of steel, automobiles, and computer chips to the United States.

In recent years, the two governments also have tried to lower the value of the dollar to reduce the trade deficit. Some economists believe that the exchange rate—the value of the U.S. dollar expressed in Japanese yen—gives Japan an advantage by making its products less expensive. Economists hope that lowering the value of the dollar will make American goods less expensive for Japanese consumers and Japanese products more expensive for Americans. However, despite lowering the value of the dollar, the U.S.-Japanese trade deficit continues to soar. In 1987, it reached a high of $56 billion and currently hovers around $50 billion annually.

The persistence of the U.S.-Japanese trade deficit has caused some U.S. policymakers to accuse Japan of trading unfairly. They claim that since World War II, Japan has protected its domestic markets with trade barriers, such as tariffs and quotas, in an effort to keep foreign products out. These critics contend that whereas the United States allows exports from Japan, the Japanese market is virtually closed to many American products, such as paper, rice, tobacco, supercomputers, satellites, and fiber-optic cables.

Japanese Investment in the United States. One result of the trade deficit is an increase in Japanese investments in the United States. By importing more than they export, Americans are paying billions of dollars to Japanese companies. Some of this money comes back to the United States when Japanese investors buy U.S. factories, companies, buildings, real estate, or government bonds. The Japanese invest profitably in the United States because the U.S. budget deficit causes American interest rates to remain high. Also, the lower value of the dollar makes American investments less expensive because Japanese

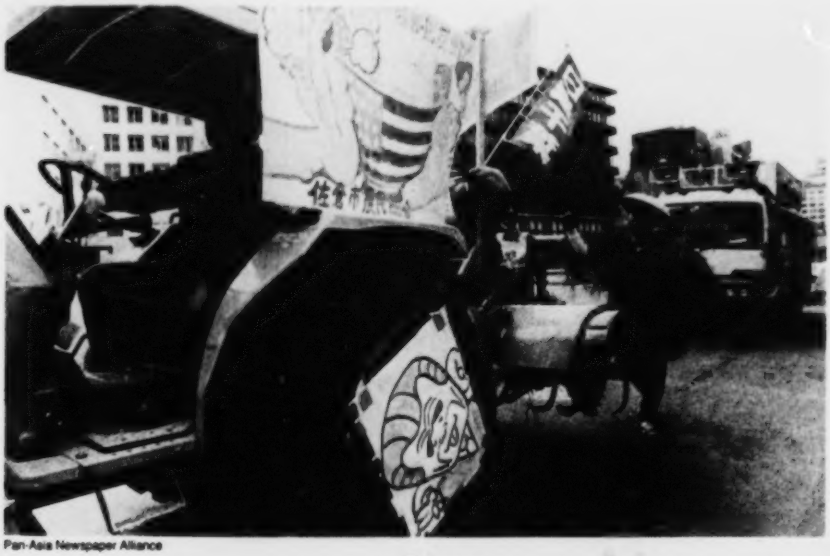
Japanese investment in the United States has increased in recent years. This $400 million joint venture between General Motors and Toyota produces Chevrolet cars in Fremont, California.

AP/Wide World Photos

investors are able to get more American dollars for their Japanese yen. In fact, for some Japanese companies, it is now more profitable to make their products in the United States and export them back to Japan than to manufacture the same items in Japanese factories.

In 1988, the Japanese invested more than $53 billion in the United States, making Japan the second largest foreign investor in America behind Great Britain. Japanese investors now own large amounts of real estate, such as New York's Rockefeller Center and Radio City Music Hall; companies such as Firestone Tire, Tiffany's, and Columbia Pictures; and automobile factories in Ohio and Tennessee producing cars with Japanese nameplates.

U.S.-Japanese Interdependence. In many ways, the United States and Japan are dependent on each other. The economies of the two countries are closely tied. For example, nearly two-thirds of U.S. exports to Japan are agricultural products or



Japanese farmers are heavily subsidized by their government. Farmers here are protesting U.S. agricultural imports, which are less costly to produce. Japanese farmers fear that they will go out of business because of such U.S. imports.

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raw materials needed in Japanese manufacturing. These exports help American companies stay in business while Japan receives the materials it needs. In addition, the United States is Japan's major market—no other country buys as many Japanese products as the United States. American consumers benefit from the high quality and variety of Japanese exports, and U.S. purchases of these goods keep Japanese businesses profitable. Japanese investments in the United States help finance new U.S. business efforts, revitalize ailing companies, and pump billions of dollars back into the U.S. economy. Finally, when Japanese investors purchase U.S. government bonds and other securities, they actually help to pay off America's federal budget deficit each year.

Jobs from Japan

The U.S. Commerce Department estimates that 284,600 Americans—a fraction of one percent of the total U.S. work force—work for Japanese companies in the United States.

The two countries also depend on one another militarily. U.S. armed forces are committed to defending Japan against attack. In return, Japan supplies the United States with important military bases that protect not only Japan but also other U.S. interests in Asia, including South Korea and the Philippines.

Current Issues

The Trade Deficit. Many U.S. policymakers are concerned about the persistent trade imbalance with Japan. Some believe that the trade deficit would improve if Japan removed some of its restrictions on American products. They claim that American supercomputers, computer chips, space satellites, and forest products are competitive in other countries but not in Japan because the Japanese will not allow U.S. companies to import these products.

Some Americans believe that the United States should restrict Japanese imports as a means of reducing the trade deficit. They argue that tariffs

Despite claims by some members of Congress that Japan unfairly restricts imports of American products, the United States is Japan's major importer.

AP/Wide World Photos

and quotas would save American jobs and keep U.S. companies from going out of business by reducing competition from Japanese manufacturers. Supporters of tariffs and quotas argue that Japan has restricted and heavily taxed American goods to protect its businesses; therefore, the United States should do the same. They point out that in the past, when Japan was threatened with retaliation, it opened its market to some previously restricted American goods.

Americans who oppose retaliatory measures say that they would undermine the international trading system, which is based on eliminating tariffs and quotas. Many economists credit the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—the international system for reducing trade barriers—with rapid worldwide economic growth during the last forty years. Opponents also claim that Japan could retaliate against U.S. trade barriers by imposing their own restrictions on American imports. Such retaliation could plunge both nations into a trade war, which could limit economic growth in both countries and possibly the world.

Finally, some experts argue that the U.S.-Japanese trade deficit is largely the result of bad economic policies in the United States and that imposing sanctions on Japan will simply divert attention away from the real problems that Congress and the president need to address: balancing the budget, encouraging Americans to save more, and reducing taxes on U.S. businesses. These experts say that a balanced budget would lower the value of the dollar, making American goods less expensive and thereby more likely to be purchased by Japanese consumers. If Americans saved more money, more would be available for private banks to lend to companies to improve manufacturing techniques and to make their workers more productive. Reducing business taxes would have the same effect as greater savings—companies would have more money left over from their profits to invest in up-to-date, efficient equipment. These experts also say that Japanese products are of higher quality than U.S. products and thus American consumers prefer them over U.S. goods. They say that instead of keeping Japanese goods out of American stores, the government should encourage U.S. companies to improve their own products to make them more attractive to American buyers.

Restrictions on Japanese Investment. The trade imbalance has helped fuel a rise in Japanese investment in the United States. Some Americans now want to restrict these investments, which they say have come about because of huge profits from Japan's unfair trading practices. Advocates of restriction point to the 1988 trade act, which permits the U.S. government to restrict foreign investments that threaten national security. They claim that the law can be interpreted to apply to investments that threaten the economic health of the United States, such as Japanese investment in industries that employ a high percentage of American workers or that are developing promising new technologies. They also argue that American factories should be under the control of Americans, not Japanese, and that allowing Japanese

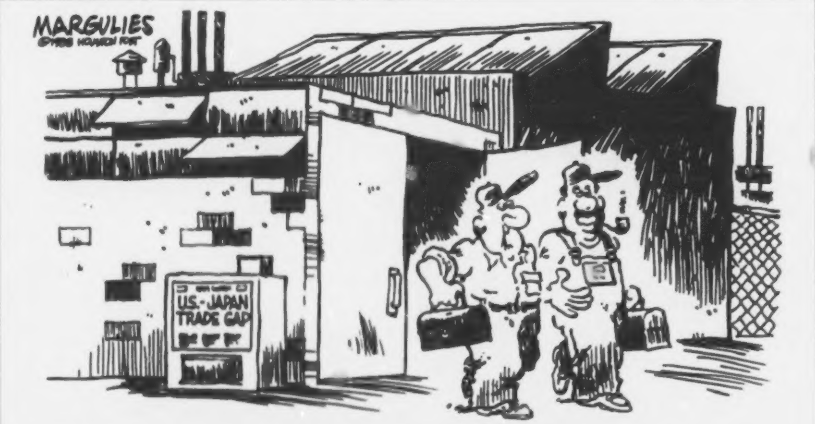
Getting Tough with Japan

A recent poll in *Business Week* magazine found that 79 percent of Americans favored import targets that would allow more U.S. goods to enter Japan and that 69 percent favored quotas to limit Japanese imports into the United States.

investors to control U.S. factories puts those businesses and their American employees at risk if the Japanese owners suddenly decide to pull out.

Other Americans argue that Japanese investment should be restricted until the Japanese government lifts restrictions on U.S. investments in Japan. They claim that U.S. companies often wait years to receive approval to invest in Japan, whereas Japanese companies can invest in the United States with little delay. In addition, some people want to restrict Japanese investment in the United States because they claim that the Japanese purchase factories in the United States to gain technology, not to improve U.S. production methods.

Americans who oppose restricting Japanese investments counter by saying that such investments are needed to improve U.S. factories. They point out that because Americans are saving and investing less, U.S. companies need to rely on Japanese and other foreign investors to provide the capital needed to improve and build factories. Japanese investors often bring new equipment and production methods to American factories, mak-



"It's not keeping up with the Joneses that worries me... it's keeping up with the Yamimotos, the Nokaguchis, the Tokoshiros...

Reprinted by permission of Jimmy Margulies, *The Houston Post* ing U.S. workers more productive and U.S. goods more competitive. Some of these factories are even exporting their goods to Japan, thereby helping to improve the trade balance.

Critics of investment restrictions also claim that Japanese-owned factories in the United States provide thousands of jobs for American workers. More than 250,000 Americans work for Japanese companies in the United States. A Honda plant in rural Marysville, Ohio, employs more than 5,000 people to build motorcycles and cars. The automobile maker Nissan also owns an American plant for its cars and trucks in Smyrna, Tennessee. Forty-two states have set up offices in Tokyo to encourage Japanese investment. State governments want Japanese companies to build factories in their states to help relieve unemployment. Newly hired workers spend their paychecks in the local economy, increasing the profits of other businesses. And added employment means that states and local governments spend less money on social programs to aid those who are out of work.

Finally, some people claim that efforts to restrict Japanese investment are spurred by racism. They argue that few Americans object to European or Canadian investments, only to Japanese investments, which account for 16 percent of the total foreign investments made in the United States.

Defending Japan. The United States spends about $6 billion every year to maintain 50,000 U.S. troops in Japan, while Japan spends about $2 billion to help pay for an armed U.S. presence in its country. The Japanese government also rents privately owned land for use as U.S. military bases. Japan's government pays for some improvements on American bases as well as employee benefits for Japanese citizens who work there.

Some U.S. policymakers say that Japan does not contribute enough money to its own defense and should share more of its defense costs with the United States. Supporters of this view argue that Japan can afford to shoulder more of the burden, pointing out that although Japan has the second largest economy in the world, it spends only 1 percent of its GNP on defense. Meanwhile, the United States spends billions of dollars to defend Japan and other Asian countries. Advocates of increased burden-sharing point out that since the U.S.-Japan security treaty was signed, Japan has risen to become an economic superpower, while the United States faces annual budget deficits. They say that the United States can no longer afford to spend money defending Japan, especially since the Japanese are wealthy enough to provide for their own defense. The Bush administration has urged the Japanese government to increase its defense budget.

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Toshiki Kaifu, Japan's prime minister, is a member of the Liberal Democratic Party, which has dominated Japanese politics since the mid-1960s.

Critics of increased burden-sharing point out that while Japan spends only 1 percent of its GNP on defense, its military budget is the third largest in the world. They claim that any increases will violate Japan's constitution, which prohibits it from raising an army or going to war. Opponents of raising Japan's defense budget say that such increases will antagonize Japan's neighbors, who fear that a rearmed Japan may invade their lands as it did in World War II. Most Japanese oppose increased military spending, and some Americans argue that the United States should not strain relations with Japan by forcing it to pay more for defense. They claim that U.S. bases in Japan are important for defending Asian allies and that the United States should be willing to pay the full cost of stationing troops there. Others caution that if Japan shares more of America's defense burden, it will also want to share more of the responsibility for deciding how to use U.S. troops based there. These critics argue that the United States cannot allow Japan, or any other nation, to have control over American troops.

Outlook

Since 1945, the United States and Japan have been allies. The United States helped Japan rebuild its economy and reform its government. Today, Japan is an economic giant rivaling the United States. Japan exports far more goods to the United States than it imports. Its businesses use their profits to buy U.S. real estate, factories, and government bonds. Some Americans accuse the Japanese of trading unfairly and want the U.S. government to reduce Japanese imports and investments. Yet Japan is an important U.S. ally with an economy that is closely tied to the American economy. The challenge for the Bush administration is to reduce the U.S.-Japanese trade deficit and solve the conflicts between the two nations without stunting Japan's economic growth.

The Debate Japan

Should the United States Retaliate Against Restrictive Japanese Trade Practices?

PRO

Japanese companies have profited by keeping American products out of Japan. The United States should retaliate by imposing similar restrictions on Japanese goods. In the long run, keeping Japanese goods out of U.S. markets will help improve the trade deficit with Japan. Tariffs and quotas will also protect American jobs and industries that are threatened by unfair Japanese competition.

CON

Tariffs and quotas increase the cost of Japanese goods sold in the United States. American consumers would have to pay more for the computer chips, electronics, and cars that they purchase from Japanese companies. Trade restrictions could backfire if Japan decided to retaliate with even stricter barriers on U.S. goods. The result would be a trade war, which could undermine the global trading system and stifle economic growth in both countries.

Should the Government Restrict Japanese Investment in the United States?

PRO

Japanese investment takes the control of U.S. factories and real estate out of the hands of Americans. Japanese investors could ruin the U.S. economy if they decided to suddenly withdraw their money. Furthermore, by restricting Japanese investment in the United States, the Japanese may be more willing to reduce the restrictions that make U.S. investment in Japan so difficult.

CON

Japanese investment is good for the U.S. economy. U.S. factories need new equipment and production methods from Japan. Because Americans are not saving and investing their money, U.S. companies need to rely on foreign investors to help them modernize. Japanese investors have created thousands of jobs for American workers, revived local economies, and improved the competitiveness of their U.S. companies.

Should Japan Pay More for Its Own Defense?

PRO

The Japanese are wealthy enough to provide for their own defense without U.S. help. The United States faces budget deficits and can no longer afford to pay for the defense of a country that earns large cash surpluses each year. Japan needs to pay for its own defense.

CON

The Japanese government already has the third largest military budget in the world. Any increases in its defense budget would violate its constitution, and neighboring countries that were occupied by Japan in World War II might see this build-up as a threat. U.S. pressure on Japan to pay for more of its defense could also lead to a weakening in U.S.-Japanese relations.

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Current Issues Teacher's Guide

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Current Issues Teacher's Guide

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Social studies teachers have long recognized the benefits of incorporating current issues instruction into their programs. Many adults can remember the Thursday evenings they spent scanning the newspaper for a worthy article to take to Friday's current events discussion. Their teachers knew that discussions about current events were often highly motivational, encouraged students' involvement, and provided them with practical information about the world in which they lived. While these weekly exercises were usually informative and enjoyable, such an approach can no longer adequately prepare students for the twenty-first century. As citizens in a democratic society that is part of an interdependent world network of nations, students need more than simple information about faraway places and national topics that happen to make today's front page.

To effectively exercise their responsibilities as citizens—the most important political office in U.S. society—students need models for analyzing current issues. For example, they need to understand the dimensions of national security—how it can be measured, how it can be strengthened, and what its costs and benefits are. Without such a framework, students will be unable to decide what they think their government should do in certain critical situations. The study of current events should, therefore, teach students how to analyze important issues. Issues of social justice, national security, or economic interdependence will change yearly, but once students have acquired a model for analyzing such issues, they can apply that model forever.

Not only can current events instruction provide students with valuable analytical models, but it can also serve to develop critical thinking skills. By defining problems, collecting and analyzing data, developing alternative solutions, selecting appropriate responses, working with others, developing and defending a position, and persuading others, students can learn the skills and attitudes that will make them informed and effective citizens.

The United States and the world face issues that threaten their survival, and educators have a responsibility to prepare the next generation of citizens to think critically and to solve problems. The knowledge, skills, and attitudes developed by *Current Issues* can help you in this noble task.

What Is *Current Issues?*

Current Issues is a book, updated and published annually by the Close Up Foundation, that investigates twenty timely domestic and foreign policy issues. The *Current Issues* format provides students with an ideal framework for studying the complexities of the issues.

The introductory section of *Current Issues* provides students with important facts about the present administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court as well as a summary of the federal budget process. Following the introduction are the twenty issue chapters. Each chapter introduces the issue and provides key questions, background, current issues, a pro-con debate of key policy questions, and the outlook for the future.

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What Is the *Current Issues Teacher's Guide?*

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* provides a variety of instructional activities to help you and your students make best use of *Current Issues*. The teacher's guide includes lesson plans for the introduction and the individual chapters in the book. Each set of lessons is designed to help students investigate and analyze intelligently the most pressing issues currently facing the United States and the world. Although the lessons are comprehensive, they also offer illustrative suggestions of how you might teach each unit. The lesson plans may be used exactly as written, or you can modify and adapt them as your professional judgment suggests is appropriate.

The lesson plans in this guide use instructional strategies that help students develop a variety of citizenship skills. Each lesson includes student objectives, a list of terms and concepts, a focus skill such as collecting, organizing, and analyzing information, and three to five learning activities. The first learning activity—a motivational exercise introducing students to the issue and helping them recognize the personal significance of it—is followed by a series of in-depth learning activities that increase student understanding of the issue. Each lesson also includes three enrichment activities that can be used to offer extra credit assignments for students who want to spend more time investigating a topic or to expand the study of selected issues.

The guide also contains a section of unit test materials that you can easily reproduce. The test materials for each unit include ten objective true-false items, focusing on lower level recall of basic information, and six to ten subjective items that require students to use higher level cognitive skills. An answer key is included. The last section in the guide contains thirty-four worksheets for students' use throughout the course study.

Features of the Lesson Plans

Each lesson plan has several features to help you present the topic.

Focus Skill

Each lesson plan unit begins by identifying a focus skill. While each activity is designed to develop a variety of skills, units are structured to highlight this special skill. Pay particular attention to the focus skills, discuss them with students, and assist those who may be having difficulty in these areas.

Terms and Concepts

Students need to understand the specialized terms that are associated with each topic in *Current Issues*. The most effective way to teach such terms is in the context of the chapter. Relate new terms to those that students already know. Help them break down a word into its component parts so that it is easier to understand.

You can ask students to define the terms and concepts at the start of the lesson, as is traditional, or you may consider these alternatives:

- Have students individually list unfamiliar terms as they read the chapter, and then decide which key words are essential for an understanding of the issue.
- Have students create a glossary of specialized terms on three-by-five inch index cards or in a notebook while they are reading each chapter.
- Give extra credit for every example of a listed term or concept that students find in books, newspapers, and magazines, or every time they use a term correctly in class discussion.

As you work with your students on increasing their vocabularies, help them realize the distinction that they did not know before between new terms and old terms.

Decision-making/Problem-solving Activities

Any thoughtful analysis of current domestic or international issues inherently involves making decisions and solving problems. A variety of models are available for leading students through this process. The steps in the model presented below can be written on poster paper and displayed at the front of the room. Then, throughout the course, whenever students are discussing a decision or addressing a problem, refer them to the model. Show students how they can apply the steps in most situations to find the best solution.

Problem-solving/Decision-making Model

1. Identify situations where a decision is required or a problem must be defined.
2. Identify likely sources of information about the issue(s).
3. Collect relevant information.
4. Classify, interpret, analyze, summarize, synthesize, and evaluate the information.
5. Recognize values related to the decision.
6. Prioritize values.
7. Identify alternative courses of action.
8. Predict the likely consequences of each alternative.
9. Make a decision based on the data you have and your most desired outcome.
10. Act to implement your decision.
11. Assess the results of implementing your decision.
12. Recognize the need to change your decision when warranted by new information.
13. Recognize gaps in information and areas needing further study.

Using Current Resources

While *Current Issues* provides an overview of national and international issues, the nature of such issues means that specific events and information about those events change daily. Therefore, many activities in the guide call upon your students to use outside sources of information. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television should all be part of the resources used by students studying *Current Issues*.

Examining the Proper Role of Government

As long as governments have existed, philosophers, political scientists, and citizens have debated what the proper role of government should be. Most political decisions reflect the beliefs of decisionmakers about the proper role of government; political controversy is often rooted in different answers to this question.

This question is inherent in each issue in *Current Issues*. The *Teacher's Guide* lesson plans examine the role of government in the issues.

Encourage students to consider this basic political issue at the beginning of the course and to decide what they think the proper role of government should be. Then, have them reevaluate their positions after studying each issue. Is their decision about a proper course of governmental action on one issue consistent with their belief about the role of government in general? If not, why not? Should their general philosophy be modified? By the end of the course, students should have a well articulated position about the proper role of government, be able to support that position, and apply it consistently to a wide variety of domestic and international issues.

How to Teach Controversial Issues

Controversy is an inherent part of any discussion of current issues. Although some teachers and students are afraid of controversy and see it as something to be avoided, controversy is natural and can lead to a productive classroom experience if handled properly.

Controversy motivates students and generates interest. When teaching controversial subjects, you should be responsive to some of the characteristics unique to working with such material. Use following guidelines to help you.

1. When dealing with controversial subjects, keep an open mind so that you can encourage your class to examine an array of ideas and develop the best one. You may wish to establish the following ground rules:
    - Everyone who has something to say will have an opportunity to say it.
    - Focus discussions on ideas, not on personalities or people.
    - Anyone can change a position at any time. Remember, just because you chose one position at the start does not mean you have to stay with it.
    - The purpose of discussion is understanding, not winning.
    - Define all terms.
    - Avoid unsupported, emotional statements.

- Cite sources of information.
- Do not interrupt others.
- Listen to and respect the opinions of others.

2. When controversy appears, identify areas of agreement and disagreement and clearly describe the source of controversy. Recognize that consensus is probably not possible or desirable.

3. Respect the right of students not to express their opinion on some issues. Sometimes an issue can be so personal that students do not want to share their thoughts or feelings.

4. Students should recognize that disagreements are simply that. They do not mean that friendships must end or that someone is stupid or wrong. One device for maintaining class harmony might be to follow substantive discussions with an analysis of how well people listen, what made the discussion good or poor, and what the class might do to improve discussions.

5. Be certain that all sides of an issue have been fairly and equally presented. Biased sources present an opportunity to develop students' skills in detecting bias. If representatives of one side on an issue are invited to class, the other side should be represented too. Play devil's advocate to have students carefully examine all sides of an issue. Urge students to closely evaluate all positions before choosing one.

6. If you express your opinion on an issue, do so at the end of the unit and clearly indicate that it is your opinion only. Be certain to explain why you hold a particular view and tell students that you do not want them to change their views because of your personal beliefs.

7. Be aware of local standards. Issues that may be discussed freely in one community may not be suitable for discussion in another. If there are elements in your community that might take exception to discussion of certain issues, you and the administration must decide how to deal with them.

How to Use *Current Issues*

Each of the six parts of a *Current Issues* chapter offers unique opportunities for teaching. Use the following techniques to help you explore more fully the educational possibilities of each part.

Introduction

1. Ask students to identify policy questions raised in the introduction.
2. Share your own information and knowledge about the issue.
3. Urge students to talk to their parents about the issue.
4. Encourage students to read and to watch newspaper and television coverage of the issue.

5. Ask students
   - What makes this issue a current issue?
   - What tone does the introduction set for the chapter?
   - How does this issue relate to others you have studied?
   - Why should a young person like you be interested in this issue?

Key Questions

1. Have students speculate on what they think the key questions are before they read the "Key Questions" section.
2. Let students vote—either with a show of hands or on paper—their opinions on each key question. Share totals with the class. Repeat the vote again after students have read the chapter to see if opinions have changed.
3. Encourage students to focus their reading by keeping the key questions in mind throughout.
4. Use the key questions as items for surveys or questionnaires that students conduct with their peers or family members.

Background

1. Discuss the impact of the past on the present and the importance of historical precedent.
2. Alert students to pay attention to unfamiliar terms and concepts as they are presented.
3. Ask students to predict what current issues will be presented, based on the background reading.
4. Relate major historical events in the background section to issues studied in other chapters and to material covered in other social studies courses.

Current Issues

1. Ask students to explain the most important aspect of this issue. Why is the issue included in *Current Issues* this year? Suggest that students read other sources to see if anything new has happened since the book was published.
2. Relate the issue to newspaper, magazine, and television coverage that students may be following.
3. Encourage students to share their views on the issues with friends, family, or government representatives.
4. Demonstrate the complexity of issues in class discussion by pointing out how issues overlap (i.e., energy and environment, immigration and education) and how U.S. issues affect others around the world (i.e., the U.S. economy and Western Europe, U.S. agriculture and world trade).
5. Ask students to select one aspect of the issue that is of special interest to them and explain their choice to the rest of the class.

Outlook

1. Ask students to characterize the outlook section as positive, negative, or ambivalent. How do they personally feel about the outlook for the issue?

2. Relate the outlook to the background and current issues sections. Have students consider whether or not the outlook was predictable.
3. Allow students to brainstorm ways they could effect change so that the outlook would be more to their liking.
4. Have students rewrite the outlook section to make it agree with their views.

The Debate

1. Urge students to take a stand on each debate question. Have their views changed since the beginning of the unit? If so, have them explore why.
2. Help students analyze the arguments given for each side of the question. Is one side stronger than the other or are the differences merely a matter of opinion?
3. Ask students to speculate on which side of the debate questions most people in their age group would stand. Then, ask them on which side they think most Americans would stand.
4. Have students find out their representative's and senators' views on the questions.
5. Ask students to label the views presented in the debate as liberal or conservative. Why did students label the issues as they did?
6. Discuss the interrelatedness of the issues. Is there any middle ground between the pro and the con arguments presented?

Charts, Graphs, Maps, Photos, and Cartoons

1. As students study the charts and graphs in *Current Issues*, remind them to:
    - Determine the kind of illustration it is—bar graph, frequency curve, pictograph, or merely a list of data.
    - Note the title, because it is the key to understanding the chart or graph.
    - Pay attention to what both axes in a graph represent and to the scale being used.
    - Check the legend or key. What do all the shadings and symbols represent?
    - Find any trends or contrasts evident in the illustration.
    - Speculate on why the illustration was included.

2. By relating the maps used in *Current Issues* to the skills developed in social studies classes, you can help your students interpret these maps. The following reminders may also help:
    - Find the illustrated area on the globe to locate its position in the world. Find the scale of the map.
    - Check the map's key and legend.
    - Look at more detailed maps of the same area if you want further information.
    - Notice the surrounding areas, and think about how geography affects the character of a nation or region.
    - How does the map help you understand the issue?

3. The photos and cartoons in *Current Issues* were all selected to clarify the issues. Remind students of the following:
    - Read the caption to learn more about the photo or cartoon and the issue at hand.
    - Speculate on why the photo or cartoon was included in the chapter.
    - Speculate on what message the photo or cartoon is trying to convey.

Additional Activities

A variety of additional teaching activities and devices are offered here to enhance your current issues course. These activities should complement the previous suggestions and tie together all portions of the units for your students.

You may wish to incorporate the following activities into the *Current Issues* units:

1. Maintain a current issues bulletin board in your classroom. Students should bring in newspaper and magazine articles relating to the issue under study and post them on the board.

2. Discuss general questions with the class such as:
   - What makes an issue a current issue?
   - What issues were current when their parents were teenagers or when their grandparents were teens?
   - What issues do they think will be current when their children are in high school or when their grandchildren are in high school?

3. Have students enter their thoughts and feelings about each lesson in a journal. The journal will allow students to express candidly their reactions to the issues they have just studied, and should be particularly valuable for students who have difficulty sharing their views in class. If students are willing to hand in their journals periodically, you may gain valuable information about their reactions to the lessons. Or students may wish to write reactions to something they have read, a class activity, a recent headline, or comments from the class. If students wish, allow them to share their journal entries with the class.

Follow-up Activities

After you have completed your study of *Current Issues*, you may wish to use one or more of these follow-up activities to give students some feeling of closure. These activities will help students synthesize and evaluate the information they have learned, and reinforce the interrelatedness of the issues.

1. Provide students with a list of all the issues you have studied and have them rank the issues. They could rank them according to what they have learned, their personal preferences, and their importance for study and discussion at this time. Then ask them to circle four or five issues that they consider to be most crucial to our times and to justify their choices in a brief essay.

2. To demonstrate the interrelatedness of the issues they have studied, ask students to write an essay explaining: (1) how the issues affect one another, and (2) how the issues affect global relations. Students should incorporate as many issues as possible.

3. If students have kept journals, have them analyze their journals at the end of the course. Which issues have made the most profound impact on them? Why? Can they find any pattern to their reactions? Are their responses mostly positive, negative, or a mixture? Why do they think this is so? What would an outside reader think about their positions?

4. Try a sentence completion activity, either orally or in writing. Some suggestions for open-ended sentences include the following.
   - I wish we had studied more about ________ .
   - I wish we had spent less time on ________.
   - My favorite learning activity was ________.
   - I would still like to learn more about ________.
   - The most important lesson I have learned from this course is ________ .
   - In my opinion, the most important issue of our time is ________.

5. As a concluding activity, break the students into groups of four to five. Their task is to revise the federal budget based on what they have learned about the domestic and foreign policy issues covered in this book.

   Have students read the section in *Current Issues* entitled "The Making of the Federal Budget." Students are to create their own budget by working together in groups and coming to agreement on the figures. Each group should be prepared to address the following questions.

   - What budget items did you cut? Why?
   - What budget items did you increase? Why?
   - Did you increase the entire budget? Why or why not?
   - What percentage of the entire budget is allotted to each category? Where is your heaviest spending? Where is your least spending?
   - Did you add or delete any budget categories? Why?

   Ask students what they learned from trying to balance spending needs and from getting their group to agree. Relate their experiences in developing a budget to those of Congress. What are the similarities and differences?

   Duplicate each group's budget and distribute it to the class. Then, have each group present its budget. Encourage students to use visual aids such as a pie chart to clarify their budgets. Each group should be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class. If time allows, you might ask the class to arrive at a consensus budget. This might best be accomplished by choosing a committee made up of one member from each group.

Instructional Strategies

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* incorporates a wide range of activities. While you have undoubtedly developed a teaching style that works for you and your students and feels comfortable, educational research shows increasingly that the most successful teachers are those who can effectively apply a wide array of teaching strategies. Successful use of teaching strategies requires attention to at least minimal guidelines for each. The following section provides you with some general "tricks of the trade" and suggestions derived from experienced classroom instructors.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming is a technique for quickly generating a broad spectrum of ideas about a topic. Because no initial evaluation or discussion is allowed, brainstorming is a nonthreatening strategy that allows every student to participate regardless of academic ability. The topic for brainstorming should be clearly stated, allow for a diversity of ideas, and require no extensive prior knowledge for a student to become involved. Responses should be posted as students call them out and no discussion should be permitted because it may inhibit creative but risky ideas. You may want to write the following brainstorming rules on the board before you start:

- Say anything that comes to mind.
- Piggybacking on the ideas of others is permitted.
- Do not evaluate or criticize what others say.
- When you cannot think of anything else, wait a minute and try again.

Another strategy for encouraging creativity is to apply the SCAMPER technique to each of the ideas suggested during brainstorming. SCAMPER allows the teacher to stimulate responses and organize them properly.

SCAMPER Technique

S-substitute, subtract
C-combine
A-adapt, add
M-modify, minify, magnify
P-put to other uses, piggyback
E-eliminate
R-reverse, rearrange

Conclude a brainstorming session by focusing students' attention on the purpose for conducting the activity.

Debate

A debate can be an effective means of presenting most positions on current issues. It may be difficult to involve all students in a single debate, so non-team members should serve as judges, moderators, or timekeepers to maintain interest. Holding several debates will allow all students to be on a debate team. The following debate procedures may be helpful when conducting a debate:

1. Select a topic—possibly one suggested by the class.

2. State the topic as a resolution. For example, Resolved that federal funding for the homeless should be increased.

3. Select pro and con debaters and allow them time to research and prepare.

4. Select a timekeeper and a moderator.

5. Seat the debaters in front of the class with the moderator in the middle; position the side favoring the resolution to the right of the moderator and the opponents to the left.

6. Begin the debate by having the moderator read the resolution and introduce the first speaker supporting the resolution. Speakers may only talk for a predetermined length of time.

7. The first opposition speaker then presents his or her arguments for the same amount of time. This format of alternating pro and con speakers continues until all speakers have presented initial arguments.

8. Rebuttal arguments are made for the specified amount of time beginning with the group opposed to the resolution.

9. Conclude the debate by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented by both sides?

Panel Discussion

A panel discussion is an effective means of researching and discussing a topic while allowing a sizable number of students to participate. The following guidelines may help you conduct a panel discussion:

1. The moderator introduces the topic and panelists.

2. Panelists present their views for a specified amount of time until all have spoken.

3. Panelists are given an opportunity to question other panelists and to discuss the issue.

4. The moderator closes the discussion with a summary of panel presentations.

5. The moderator calls for a forum period during which the class may question panelists.

6. Conclude the panel discussion by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented?

Classroom Use of Resource Persons

Local communities often offer a vast, untapped resource. The Close Up Foundation has been a pioneer in using experts in the community to educate youth. Close Up believes that community members have much to offer students and should be included in school instruction as often as possible.

Teachers have often invited local citizens into their classes as guest lecturers. While using guest lecturers may be successful with some students, other approaches may work better. One of the most effective uses of resource persons is to provide students with a problem or issue similar to one with which the resource person must contend.

Ask students what they would do in dealing with the problem or issue. Then have the resource person critique students' responses. This strategy has the benefit of limiting preparation time for the resource person because he or she simply has to apply professional knowledge in critiquing students. In addition, such a tactic generates student interest because the resource person is bringing his or her expertise to bear on students' own ideas. This technique usually generates healthy discussion and a large number of questions.

Teachers and resource persons should always work together closely to plan the classroom visit. The following tips can help you prepare a resource person for a successful visit to your class.

1. Prepare the resource person. Tell him or her about the characteristics of your students, what they have been studying, and what to expect from them. Suggest topics you would like to have the person cover and find out what he or she requires for the presentation.
2. Prepare students adequately. Give necessary assignments far enough in advance so that students can complete them. Discuss the visit by the resource person and explain procedures for the visit.
3. Have one or two students meet the resource person and direct him or her to the classroom.
4. Have students prepare name tags or desk nameplates to help the resource person identify students.
5. Assist the resource person in classroom management if necessary. Do not leave the room.
6. Begin classroom activities immediately.
7. If necessary, help the resource person to terminate the presentation and depart gracefully.
8. Provide the resource person with feedback about the presentation and write a note of appreciation.
9. Have alternatives planned just in case the resource person does not arrive. These alternatives should be educationally sound and fit in the context of the current unit of instruction.
10. You might want to give the resource persons the following do's and don'ts ahead of time to make them feel more comfortable.

Do:

- consider the age and experience of the audience.
- prepare adequately.
- maintain eye contact.
- solicit feedback frequently.
- encourage active participation early on and throughout the presentation.
- be yourself; let your personality show; be natural; smile; relax.
- call on and interact with a variety of students.
- circulate around the room.
- involve the teacher.
- make sure everyone hears all questions and answers.
- know the objectives of your visit and how the visit relates to what students have been studying.

Do not:

- lecture at students.
- use jargon or unfamiliar words.
- act condescendingly.
- become angry at heckling or passive response.
- react defensively to criticism.
- read a prepared speech.
- talk in a monotone.
- assume that students either have or lack knowledge about a given point (find out what they know).

Role Plays and Simulations

One of the most effective instructional techniques, when used correctly, is role play or simulation. This technique enables students to experience a situation from the perspective of persons actually involved in a similar situation. Role plays and simulations are an effective means of transmitting knowledge, and have a powerful impact on attitudes as well. Finally, role plays and simulations are excellent ways of allowing students to examine a situation from all perspectives.

The following guidelines will help you conduct successful role plays and simulations:

1. Present the problem, situation, or task clearly and make sure students understand.

2. Help students identify appropriate sources of information that will inform them of the perspective of the group or person they represent.

3. Involve everyone. If there are not enough roles for all students, create new ones or develop several versions of the simulation simultaneously.

4. Involve all students as quickly as possible.

5. Begin with simple activities. Students without experience in role plays and simulations may require time to develop the skills necessary to do them well.

6. Consider having students reverse roles. Assign students to represent views that they do not advocate personally.

7. Be certain before beginning that students adequately understand the perspective of the individual or group they represent. Allow students enough time to locate and analyze information and prepare their roles. Use this preparation time to talk with groups and individuals to gauge the degree to which they understand their roles.

8. Create an accepting environment where students can make mistakes, take risks, and be creative while being responsible. Do not expect polished performances immediately.

9. Conclude with a thorough discussion. Highlight the instructional objectives you had for the activity. What did you want students to gain from the activity? Relate the role plays or simulations to what students had been and will be studying. Explore how students felt and what their feelings suggest about the people who experience the situation in real life. Did students feel that the roles they played were accurate representations of the real people? What did they learn from the experience?

Do not be discouraged if the role play or simulation does not work well the first few times you use it. This technique can be difficult to use initially, but pays handsome dividends once mastered.

Small Group Cooperative Learning

Many teachers have been doing small group work for years. Recent research suggests ways in which teachers can conduct small group activities more effectively than by simply putting students into groups and assigning them a task.

The following guidelines will help you use cooperative small group work successfully.

1. Small group activities can create opportunities for loss of control; therefore such activities require class members to follow rules. Sample rules might include the following:
    - Move quickly and quietly to groups and remain there.
    - Talking between groups is prohibited.
    - Talking within groups must be done quietly.
    - All groups must have leaders whose task is to keep the group working, make sure that everyone participates, and keep discussions focused on the issues.

2. Organize groups heterogeneously and design group tasks in such a way that every student becomes involved.

3. Encourage students to help each other without actually doing the work of another group member. One way to encourage cooperation is to award grades based on individual work and grades based on the performance of the group. Design tasks so that each individual student can be assisted by his or her peers, but cannot have the peers do the work of the individual.

4. Help students develop the skills necessary to work well in small groups. You might review the content objectives of each activity and discuss the following questions:
   - What helped this group work well together?
   - What interfered with our group working well together?
   - What could members do next time to help improve this group's work?
   - Did everyone participate? Why or why not?

5. Keep group size small; three to five students is optimal.

6. Give clear directions and allow adequate time for students to complete the task.

7. Monitor group activities to spot areas of difficulty.

8. Use small groups only for cooperative tasks, not for independent work while merely sitting with others.

Developing Research Skills

An essential part of every student's education is to learn how to research an issue, adopt a position, and argue persuasively for that position. Many students have few skills in these areas. If students are to obtain the information that they need to act as informed public policy shapers, they need your help in developing these essential skills. The following list of skills provides a handy sequential organizer whereby teachers can guide students through the research process.

1. Recognize that research should be aimed at gaining understanding and a complete view of an issue, not simply at gathering information to argue a predetermined point.

2. Learn how to limit a subject based on time and resources available.

3. Identify sources of appropriate information.

4. Use indexes, tables of contents, and other aids to locate pertinent information quickly.

5. Understand information in written, pictorial, graphic, cartographic, mathematical, and other formats.

6. Evaluate sources of information for bias, accuracy, pertinence, and authority.

7. Take notes.

8. Organize information.

9. Analyze information and draw inferences.

10. Synthesize information and develop arguments.

11. Organize ideas.

12. Support ideas.

13. Articulate or write ideas in an organized and readable manner.

14. Document sources.

* * * * * * * *

Close Up hopes that the information presented in this introduction will make your task of teaching *Current Issues* easier and enrich the quality of instruction for your students. Each section of the introduction is designed to make *Current Issues* a more usable resource for your classroom and the comprehensive and motivational textbook you need to teach current issues effectively.

The lesson plans that follow offer specific teaching activities, test materials, and worksheets for each chapter in *Current Issues*. The keys to using these lesson plans and each section of the *Current Issues* chapters have been presented in this introduction. Close Up hopes that you will use these keys to open up new understanding and perspective for your students as they explore the current issues of our time.

Lesson Plans

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The Federal Budget 23

Names in the Bush Administration
The Congress
The Supreme Court
The Federal Budget

Student Objectives

Students will:
1. Examine the role of the federal government in the daily lives of Americans.
2. Identify officials in the Bush administration and predict issues they will face.
3. Identify key members of Congress and predict their positions on national issues.
4. Identify members of the Supreme Court and speculate on upcoming Court cases and decisions.
5. Examine categories of income and expenditures in the federal budget.
6. Explain why the budget deficit is an important issue.
7. Develop and evaluate approaches for reducing the budget deficit.

Terms and Concepts

- appropriation bill
- associate justice
- authorization bill
- budget deficit
- cabinet
- chief justice
- fiscal year
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings
- joint budget resolution
- majority and minority leaders
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
- presidential adviser
- reconciliation bill
- revenue-raising bill
- whip

Activities

1. Several days prior to beginning this unit, ask students to keep a log in which they record everything that they do in one day. They should record everything from waking up to the radio alarm and eating a bowl of cereal in the morning to watching television and turning out the lights at night. Read several randomly selected logs anonymously, and have the class stop you every time an activity you mention is somehow influenced by the federal government. They may consider federal influences such as food and drug laws, FCC regulations, environmental standards, and safety regulations. Challenge them to come up with as many federal laws, programs, and agencies as they can think of that might affect them on a day-to-day basis.

Use this activity to discuss the role and impact of the federal government in the lives of most Americans. Why should students be informed about all aspects of the operation of the federal government? Discuss the costs of such services and how Americans' tax dollars are spent.

2. After students read "Names in the Bush Administration," they should consider the following questions:

- What seem to be the qualifications to be a high level official in the executive branch?
- Why do you think that certain persons were selected for certain positions? Are they all qualified? Have they had any other federal jobs?
- What common traits do many officials in the executive branch seem to share?

Urge students to use a wide variety of current events sources to identify controversial or important issues being faced by the "Names in the Bush Administration." Assign each official to one or two students to assure that all officials are covered. How will the decisions made by these Americans influence the country? How will they influence your friends and neighbors? How will they influence you? Discuss the political ideology of several of these men and women and encourage students to predict their actions and decisions during the next year.

3. Have students read "The Congress," and fill in the names under "Who's Who in the 102nd Congress." In addition, ask students to write brief sketches for each congressional leader similar to the sketches provided for members of the executive branch in the previous section. Are any of the Senate or House leaders from their state? How did these members of Congress become leaders in their respective legislative bodies? Finally, select important issues facing Congress this year and ask students how they think certain individuals will vote on the issues. Ask them to support their predictions.

4. After students read "The Supreme Court" in *Current Issues*, they should consider the following questions:

- What does the Supreme Court do?
- How does the Court shape American political and social life?
- Is the present Court liberal or conservative?
- How do the decisions of a liberal Court differ from the decisions of a conservative Court?

Ask students to write brief sketches of each Supreme Court justice. They can use the information from the chart "The Supreme Court," but should also find additional information from other sources. Urge them to pay particular attention to each justice's past record and whether he or she is considered conservative or liberal.

After students have completed their sketches, briefly discuss each justice. Discuss how presidents can influence the country for decades because of their Supreme Court appointees. What influence has President Reagan had on the Supreme Court? What influence is President Bush likely to have on the Court? Why?

Conclude activities 1-4 by urging students to know their federal officials—in all three branches of government.

5. Have students complete **Worksheet 1**. Then, by recalling the discussion of their daily logs and using the results of the worksheet survey, ask them to write five questions that they would like to have answered about the federal budget and the process by which the budget is developed. Collect the questions, make a list of ten to fifteen that raise the important issues, and provide each student with a copy to use when they read "The Making of the Federal Budget." Discuss with students the sources of information necessary to answer these questions. Suggest almanacs, the *U.S. Statistical Abstract Handbook*, and information from the offices of their members of Congress. Have students tell why they think they may find pertinent information in a particular place. Stress that knowing where to find information quickly may be more important than actually knowing the answer.

Discuss strengths and weaknesses of books, magazines, newspapers, encyclopedias, television, radio, almanacs, videos, computer data bases, flyers, political party information, university research papers, and government publications. Ask students if they can think of other places where they might find information.

Conclude by leading a discussion using the questions that students developed. In the course of the discussion, try to address the following statements:

- The current federal deficit poses serious problems for all Americans.
- Reducing federal expenditures is difficult, especially given the likely public response to cuts in popular areas.
- Increasing taxes may be necessary to balance the budget.
- Congress and the president must cooperate during the budget process.
- Current trends suggest that the deficit is being reduced.
- The ideological positions held by leaders in the executive and legislative branches exert a powerful influence during the budget process.

Lesson Plans

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The Economy

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Explain economic concepts such as inflation, recession, unemployment, productivity, trade, deficit of payments, and budget deficit, and assess the relationship among them.
2. Evaluate proposed national economic policies for reducing the budget deficit and lowering the trade deficit.
3. Recognize the interdependence of economic issues.
4. Describe the changing relationship between the U.S. economy and the world economy.

Terms and Concepts

- Federal Reserve Board (the Fed)
- free market
- full employment
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act
- inflation
- interest rates
- international interdependence
- Keynesian economic approach
- productivity
- recession
- supply-side economic theory

Activities

1. Write the following statements on the board: Since 1981, the United States has

- nearly tripled its budget deficit.
- enjoyed the longest period of economic growth in U.S. history.
- had the lowest percentage of workers producing goods since the Great Depression.
- experienced an inflation rate dropping to one-third of what it was in the late 1970s.
- chalked up record trade deficits.
- achieved an unemployment rate approaching full employment.
- recorded one of the lowest rates of productivity increase among the world's industrialized nations.
- enacted a major tax cut.
- gone from being the world's largest creditor nation to the world's largest debtor nation.

Then, discuss students' reactions to the list. How can all these statements be true? What conclusions might they draw about the U.S. economy from reading these statements? Stress the complexity of economic issues and the need to examine all indicators before making a judgment. Also point out that some economic indicators may look more favorable than they really are. For example, government spending may help keep unemployment down, but may ultimately contribute to the budget deficit.

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Have students look for relationships among the statements—low inflation and economic expansion, tax cuts and budget deficits, productivity and trade deficits. After discussing the statements, ask students to read "The Economy" in *Current Issues* and develop three to five questions they would like to have answered by the end of the unit. Encourage them to keep questions nearby for future class discussion.

2. Have students work in pairs to complete **Worksheet 2**. Urge students to use *Current Issues* and additional resources to complete the worksheet. Also, ask them to study the graphs—"Inflation Rate," "Unemployment Rate," and "Federal Budget Deficits"—in *Current Issues*.

Discuss the worksheet by highlighting each topic and asking students to provide evidence supporting the costs and benefits of Reaganomics. Continue the discussion by reviewing the graphs. For each graph ask:

- What is the graph about?
- What are its highest and lowest points?
- Do you see any trends?
- What are the implications of the graph?
- Based on the graph, what predictions do you have for next year?
- Can you see any relationship between Reaganomics and the information on the graph?

3. In some countries, the governments make all the economic decisions. Such governments decide what will be produced, how much will be produced, and at what price it will be produced. Although the U.S. government has usually played some role in regulating the economy, individuals are allowed to make most of the decisions. Americans have differing opinions about the level of government regulation in economic matters. Write the following statements on the board and lead a discussion about each. The government should promote employment by:

- buying goods or services it does not need.
- subsidizing noncompetitive industries.
- taking over businesses that are losing money and about to close.
- increasing business tax breaks.
- relaxing government standards for environmental protection, employee safety, and product safety.
- setting quotas on how much a company can produce.
- regulating prices.

Do students agree or disagree with the statements? Why? Do they have any other ideas about what the government should or should not do to regulate the economy?

4. Divide the class into six groups. Assign two groups to each of the three key questions—one taking the pro side and one the con side. Allow each group to research the issue and develop its position. Tell them that next class period they will read their positions. Each side should be prepared to:

- identify its strongest argument and have evidence supporting that position.
- identify what it feels is the strongest counterargument and have evidence to support that position and evidence to refute the other side, if possible.
- present main and secondary arguments with supporting evidence that could persuade others to adopt its position.
- develop questions it would like to have answered about the issue.

Consider each key question separately and have each side read its statement. Allow the rest of the class to question the group. You might want to invite an accountant, tax lawyer, businessperson (especially one engaged in international trade), economist, or other knowledgeable person to come to class and critique each position and answer questions.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the economy. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Students are to complete the sentences below based on the premise that the solution to one economic problem could create new economic problems.

- If we want everyone to have a job, then we must ________.
- If we want to balance the budget, are we willing to ________?
- If taxes are raised, then ________.
- Decreasing teenage unemployment by lowering the minimum wage might mean ________.
- We could wipe out inflation if ________.
- If corporate taxes are eliminated entirely, then ________.
- Recession in the United States affects U.S. imports because ________.
- Tight money and high interest rates affect American spending and jobs by ________.

Ask students to read their completions in class. Listen to as many different responses as possible.

2. Invite a tax accountant and/or a representative from the Internal Revenue Service to visit the class. Have the speaker address the issue of tax reform. Also ask the speaker to discuss tax deductions, exemptions, credits, and exclusions, and the advantages and disadvantages of each. Finally, have the speaker answer students' questions about income tax filing, sharing forms and tax schedules that apply to this group.

Tell students to prepare for the guest speaker by jotting down questions as they read the "Current Issues" section of the chapter, thinking of questions concerning their own tax preparation, and asking their parents if they have any questions about tax preparation or tax reform. In addition, have students read at least one article on income taxes or tax reform in a financial magazine or the financial section of the newspaper. For many students, this might be their first experience with this type of reading. Ask each student to turn in a brief summary of the articles they read, with information for potential questions to the guest speaker underlined.

3. Have students select three of the following statements and be prepared to tell whether or not they think the statement is true and why.

- Because a national industrial policy works in Japan, it will probably work here.
- We must be willing to live with some inflation if we want a strong foundation for our economy.
- We must cut social programs further if we want to reduce the budget deficit.
- Tax increases are the only answer to the budget deficit.
- Moderate interest rates and a reasonable rate of inflation are the only hope for our economy.

Education

Student Objectives

Students will:
1. Describe roles and policies of local, state, and federal governments in education.
2. Evaluate the role of the federal government in helping students go to college.
3. Explain current trends in education.
4. Analyze arguments for and against giving parents the right to choose which school their children will attend.

Terms and Concepts

- *A Nation at Risk*
- desegregation
- educational reform movement
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)
- functional illiteracy
- Higher Education Act
- local school management
- magnet schools
- mainstreaming
- Project Head Start
- Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)
- unequal funding

Activities

1. Have students examine the following items in *Current Issues:*
- "High School Graduates" chart.
- "SAT Scores" graph.

For each of the items ask students to:
a. Identify one issue suggested by the item.
b. Write two questions about each issue raised.
c. Identify how each issue may affect public schools.

Use student responses as the basis for a class discussion introducing "Education" in *Current Issues*. Describe the purpose of the unit and encourage students to disclose their knowledge, opinions, and interests about education. Emphasize that the key questions on the first page of the chapter and students' questions will provide the focus for the unit.

2. Ask each student to list reasons why he or she should know about federal policy toward public education and higher education. Then, in groups of three or four, have students share their lists. Each group should then select two reasons it thinks are the best. Each group should then share its reasons with the whole class. Using these reasons as general topics, lead a class discussion of how federal educational policy can influence all students.

3. Instruct students to answer the questions below. Urge them to read "Education" in *Current Issues* and any other sources they may need to answer the questions.

- How have public schools traditionally been funded? How and why is this funding base changing?
- What kinds of social problems have schools addressed during the past twenty-five years? How have these efforts influenced schools?
- What is the educational reform movement? How successful has it been?

When students have finished the assignment, ask several of them to read their answers aloud. Lead a class discussion around these questions.

4. Allow students sufficient time to research the eleven topics listed below and prepare for a mock television report called "Channel 99 Roving Reporter—Focus on the Schools." Organize the class into groups of eleven with each student being responsible for one topic. Provide students with a copy of **Worksheet 3** to help them do their research. After students have collected the information, they should discuss their findings with the others in their group. On the day of the mock TV report, ask each group to select two students to be the reporters. Regulate the time so that all groups have an opportunity to be heard. After completing the mock reports, discuss the issues with the class.

Research topics:

- Funding sources for local school district and areas of possible budget cuts.
- Local district teachers' salaries compared to neighboring districts and to professions requiring similar educational levels.
- Local district testing program—what is tested, at what grade levels, and conclusions drawn from the test results.
- School reforms in your state and district since *A Nation at Risk* was published.
- Percent of district funds used for special students, including any construction costs incurred to make buildings more accessible for special students.
- District and state drop out rates and how they are calculated.
- Graduation rate of students starting first grade.
- State and federal requirements your district must meet.
- Comparison of per-pupil-costs in your district with similar neighboring districts.
- Cost, benefit, and nature of program for instructing non-English speaking students in your school or district.
- Satisfaction rate of students and teachers with your school.

The last item listed under research topics requires students to design and conduct a survey of students and teachers in your school. Sample questions for teachers might include: What do you like best about your job? What do you like least about your job? If you could choose again, would you still be a teacher? Why or why not? How do students today compare with students five, ten, and twenty years ago? What is your reaction to recent efforts to improve education? Sample questions for students might include: What do you like best about your school? What do you like least about your school? Do you feel that you are getting a good education? Why or why not? What could be done to improve the quality of education in your school? Would you like to become a teacher? Why or why not?

5. Organize a debate over the issues raised by "Key Questions" in "Education." Do not tell students which side or which issue they will actually debate until five or ten minutes before the debate begins. This tactic will force students to prepare to debate all three issues from both sides. Urge them to read *Current Issues* carefully along with other outside sources such as newspapers and newsmagazines. Debate the following statements:

- The federal government should assume a more active role in education.
- The federal government should continue to subsidize student loans for higher education
- Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools.

Choose students for issues and sides any way you think best—either by having them state their preferences or draw names out of a hat. You may want to select small teams of students to represent each topic and side and allow them to prepare their arguments as a team, or you may wish to have students debate one-on-one. After each issue has been debated, ask the class which arguments were most persuasive. Ask debaters if their views changed or if they better understand the position of the other side.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on education. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students compile a mini-scrapbook of articles, facts, and opinions on the question: "Is education a national priority today?" Ask them to write a brief introduction and conclusion to their scrapbook, incorporating their own opinions into their writing.

2. Using an editorial format, students should respond to the following statement from *A Nation at Risk* based on their own school and educational experiences: "The educational foundations of our society are being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity." Where possible, statements should be backed by facts learned from this unit. What changes, if any, do students see in their own school as examples of the education reform movement? What changes, if any, do students recommend for their school?

3. Advanced students may wish to explore further the relationship between poverty and education. President Lyndon Johnson once stated, "Poverty has many roots, but the taproot is ignorance." Is this statement still true? How does President Bush feel about Johnson's statement? What effects do Bush's educational policies have on the poor? What role does Congress play in formulating educational policy? What role do educational organizations such as the National Education Association have in formulating educational policy?

Civil Rights

Student Objectives

Students will:
1. Evaluate the role of the federal government in the areas of affirmative action, abortion, comparable worth, and drug testing.
2. Explain steps taken by the federal government to extend civil rights to all citizens.
3. Analyze efforts in the United States to protect civil rights while recognizing past and present failures.

Terms and Concepts

- abortion
- affirmative action
- Age Discrimination Act
- comparable worth
- defacto segregation
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
- Equal Pay Act
- Equal Rights Amendment
- "Jim Crow" laws
- reverse discrimination
- Roe v. Wade
- "separate but equal"
- suffrage movement
- U.S. Civil Rights Commission
- Voting Rights Act

Activities

1. Write on the board: "The United States is a land of equal opportunity for all." Tell students they have several minutes to jot down any thoughts that come to mind as they ponder the statement. Discuss student responses. Pay particular attention to students' reasoning. What evidence do they offer to support their position? Also note what position is held by the majority of students and what arguments are presented most frequently. You might play devil's advocate with their arguments and press students to defend them.

2. Ask students in a brainstorming session to name rights they have as Americans. List the rights on the board. Discuss which rights are, in fact, guaranteed and which are not. After discussing the list, ask students to write a one-page essay describing how their life might be different if such rights were not guaranteed. Ask several students to read their essays in class and then discuss them.

3. Have students read only the titles and heads under "Background." After one minute, ask students to write five questions that they think will be answered in the reading. Discuss why it is helpful to skim a reading assignment to get a sense of what the material is about and to develop some questions that it might answer. Urge them to focus their reading to get more out of it. Share with students the generic reporters questions—who? what? where? when? why? and how?—and indicate that answering these five questions is often helpful in identifying all of the important information in a reading assignment.

Then, have students read "Background" and complete the chart at the top of **Worksheet 4.** Discuss the chart to be certain that students have recorded all of the pertinent information. Have them work in pairs to compare their lists. Finally, as a class, complete a similar chart on the board. Ask students to review the chart and discuss their reactions. What do they think of America's record in the area of civil rights? (If time and resources permit, students might investigate past and present civil rights in other countries.) What legislation do they feel has been the most important and why?

4. Ask students to list on the board any civil rights issues that they feel still need to be addressed. Try to include the issues raised by the key questions. Beside each issue list acceptable and unacceptable steps that the government might take to address the issue. Then have students explain how they determined what is acceptable. Poll students on the key questions after discussing the issues. Tabulate and post the results. Discuss why they took the positions they did.

5. Have students skim the titles and heads under "Current Issues" and develop one question for each head. Then, after reading "Current Issues," organize them into small groups to discuss the key questions and their questions. Each group should identify what they think are the strongest pro and con arguments for each question. Have groups discuss their conclusions with the class. Their comments should provide a basis for a general class discussion. Issues that students identified as civil rights concerns in the previous activity could also be researched and discussed at this time.

6. As an optional activity, invite someone from the Gray Panthers, La Raza, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), or other minority advocacy groups to discuss with your class how federal actions have benefited their group and why such action was necessary. Have students prepare questions prior to the presentation.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on civil rights. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. This research activity is unique in that the student will compare life at the close of the Civil War to the present. Ask students to assume the role of either a black American man or a white American woman living in the 1860s and 1870s, after the Civil War. Using *Current Issues* and other sources, have students research the voting rights (both legal and actual), job possibilities, and educational opportunities of their character in both 1865 and 1990. Tell them to then incorporate these facts into a narrative story, told in first person through the eyes of their character. Students may wish to conclude their themes with a look to the future.

All the papers should be read aloud in class or posted on a bulletin board for all to read. Papers should be judged on factual content and accuracy as well as on how effectively the writer has captured the feelings of and personalized the situations described by their character.

2. Have students discuss their own experiences with discrimination. Have they ever been victims of discrimination? If so, on what basis? How do students feel about their experiences? What experiences have students had with people of other races, religions, ethnic groups, and ages? Were they positive or negative? Do they have different expectations for males and females? Do students feel any discomfort when they are around a disabled person? Do they feel disabled students should be "mainstreamed"?

As a follow-up to this activity, tell students to ask their parents and friends (and grandparents, if possible) what they remember about the civil rights movement and how women's roles have changed in their lifetimes. Have students share this informal oral history with the class the next day. How are their reports similar? How are they different?

Divide the class into discussion groups of four or five students each. What feelings surprised students? Do they think any of the opinions offered were biased or disagreed with recent court decisions in this area? Have them jot down their thoughts. Finally, ask each group to give their opinions on how prejudice comes about and what can be done to prevent it. How have their own lives been affected by the women's movement, the civil rights movement, and the beliefs of their parents? Have attitudes changed?

Note: Take as much time as students need to discuss these last points. Civil rights is a very emotional and complex issue worthy of the time spent probing personal values in addition to the facts.

3. Many issues that fall into the realm of civil rights are still controversial. Tell students to find five articles from newspapers or newsmagazines dealing with a single civil rights issue. Suggestions might be current civil rights legislation, affirmative action, comparable worth proposals, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, busing, and hiring quotas.

At the end of each article, have students summarize the issue being discussed, the Bush administration's stance on the issue (if it is clear from the article), and the conclusion reached by the article. Ask students to state their opinions on the information presented in the article in a separate paragraph and relate it to what they have learned in this unit.

For those students interested in outside research, a brief summary of the current views of Congress and the courts on this issue could also be assigned.

Social Programs

Student Objectives

Students will:
1. Explain the evolution of social programs in American society from the New Deal to the present.
2. Evaluate the current role of the federal government in providing aid to needy Americans.
3. Evaluate the relationship between federal social programs and the budget deficit.
4. Explain why various age and income groups often disagree on social programs.

Terms and Concepts

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs)
- Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
- entitlement programs
- food stamps
- Great Society
- Low-income Energy Assistance
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- New Deal
- public housing
- Social Security
- Supplemental Security Income (SSI)
- unemployment insurance

Activities

1. Assign half the students in your class the graph—"A Nation Growing Older"—and the other half the graph—"Children Living in Poverty"—in *Current Issues*. Students are to answer the following questions and should be prepared to share their answers with the whole class.

- What is this graph about? What kinds of information does it provide?
- What years have the lowest and highest figures?
- What trends do you see from the graph?
- What implications does the information on the graph have for society? Do you see any potential problems? If so, what are they? How might such problems affect you and your family today, or ten or twenty years from now?

After students have answered the questions, conduct a general class discussion about the graphs. Most of the discussion probably will focus on the last two items. Challenge students to defend their answers. Encourage students to develop questions that they would like to have answered during the study of the unit. Urge them to keep their questions at hand during study of the unit.

2. Have students read "Background" in *Current Issues* to answer the following questions and complete **Worksheet 5**. After students have completed the assignment, review the worksheet and their answers to these questions:

- Should the government assist the poor? Why or why not? If it should, what kinds of assistance and to whom should it be provided?

- How are current social programs similar to and different from New Deal programs?
- What current social programs were established as part of the Great Society?
- Do you feel any current social programs should be dropped or changed? Explain your answer. Are there any social programs that should be added? Why or why not?

3. Tell students that they are going to participate in a Senate hearing on domestic social problems. Some students will form a Senate committee, while the rest will represent a variety of interest groups expressing opinions about the following policies:

- The U.S. government should not provide any additional aid to the needy.
- Social security benefits should be frozen.
- The government should provide day care for children.

Divide students into the Senate committee and the following fictional groups:

- National Association of Single Parents
- Retired Persons of America
- Society of Workers without Dependents
- United Parents of College Students
- Parents of Chronically Ill Children
- United Taxpayers Association

The groups should meet to prepare their statements about the three issues. Each should decide what policies are best for its members and prepare its statement accordingly. Then have each group appear separately before the Senate committee. After presenting its statement, each group should be questioned by members of the Senate committee. The committee should prepare questions related to the issues at hand.

After all groups have presented their views and been questioned by the committee, lead a class discussion about the hearing. Ask the class to discuss the best pro and con arguments and supporting data for each of the three issues. If they were senators, how would they vote on each issue and why? What has this simulation taught them about why the political system often has difficulty establishing and funding social programs?

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on social programs. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. After students read the beginning of the chapter, have them select one of the following research activities to strengthen their knowledge of the background of federal social program issues.

a. Visit a public library and read through newspaper and newsmagazine editorials and letters to the editor written at the time of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society to see how these programs were accepted. What were the main criticisms of these programs? Why were they lauded? Can students draw any parallels to the modern debate over social programs?

b. Select a nation whose social programs they are interested in researching. Some nations that might be particularly interesting for this project include Sweden, Israel, China, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Kuwait, and Japan. Using books, periodicals, and information available from the country or its embassy, ask the students to compile a list of their chosen nation's social programs along with a brief explanation of each. What is their general impression of that nation's support or lack of support for social welfare? How does it compare to the United States? Did they find any policies that they think the United States should adopt? Why or why not?

c. Call or visit their local welfare or state employment office to find out basic information on the qualifications and procedures for applying for an entitlement program. Programs to consider for this project include:

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- food stamps
- Low-income Energy Assistance
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- public housing
- Supplemental Security Income (SSI)

If possible, students should get an application form, and interview a welfare or employment office worker about the application process. How did they feel applying for this program? Do they think benefits should be easier or harder to get? What was their general impression of the process?

2. Have students respond in a brief essay to the "Outlook" section of the chapter. How do they think the federal government can cope with rising Medicare, Medicaid, and social security costs? Can U.S. taxpayers continue to provide such benefits to our rapidly aging population? What do students think about federal funding for child care? Can we afford subsidized child care? How do students feel about capping social spending while still meeting the needs of America's poor?

3. Ask students to conduct an informal poll posing one of the following questions to a cross-section of members of the community:

- What is your opinion of establishing a lower-than-minimum wage for teenagers?
- What is your opinion of social security?

Care should be taken to include several different age groups in the poll, ranging from teenagers to the elderly. Have students write up the results of the poll, creating a table or graph to illustrate their findings better. Some direct quotes should be included.

Health Care

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Describe the reasons for rapidly rising health care costs.
2. Develop proposals for a national health care policy.
3. Evaluate health care proposals for strengths, weaknesses, and impact on various groups.
4. Understand the perspective of different constituencies, including taxpayers, health care providers, and health care users.
5. Explain the personal importance of the health care issue.

Terms and Concepts

- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)
- corporate-owned hospital
- deductible
- diagnosis related group payment (DRG)
- diagnostic tests
- health maintenance organization (HMO)
- malpractice
- Medicaid
- medical technology
- Medicare
- national health insurance
- preventive care
- private insurance
- uncompensated care

Activities

1. Have students work in pairs to complete **Worksheet 6**—the student survey. Encourage them to discuss each statement thoroughly as they try to find the correct answers. (All answers are true.) Students should then share their responses with the rest of the class. Did they find any responses surprising? If yes, which ones? Why were they surprising? What questions would they want to ask based on what they already know? Where might they find the answers to those questions? Inform students that they cannot find all answers to this survey in *Current Issues*. Encourage them to complete it by asking knowledgeable resource persons within the community and reading printed resources such as newspapers and newsmagazines.

2. In a class discussion, ask students to think of all of the ways that the issues discussed in the previous activity might influence them personally. Do they know anyone who has faced similar issues? List students' answers on the board and discuss why they are important. Responses may include such concerns as increased taxes, effect on them if someone in their family required extensive and expensive medical treatment, or reductions in other government services that provide benefits such as student college loans.

3. Have students read "Health Care" in *Current Issues* and complete **Worksheet 7.** Use Worksheet 7 as the basis for a class discussion about the federal role in health care.

4. Assign two or three students (depending on the size of class) to represent each of the following groups:

- doctors
- insurance companies
- public hospital administrators
- older Americans
- consumer advocates
- taxpayer organizations
- private health care organizations
- lawyers

The remaining students will play members of a U.S. Senate subcommittee studying health care issues.

Urge students to read "Health Care" in *Current Issues* and other articles in newspapers and newsmagazines to prepare for a Senate committee hearing addressing the following questions:

- What role should the public and private sectors play in guaranteeing adequate health care for residents of the United States?
- Should all citizens have comprehensive health care guaranteed by the federal government?
- If comprehensive national health care is provided, how should it be funded? Who should be covered and to what extent? Should coverage be limited to catastrophic insurance? Why or why not?
- Can the costs of health care be reduced without decreasing the quality of care? If so, how?
- Should schools increase their efforts in teaching about AIDS? If so, what should they do?

Each of the eight groups should prepare responses for each question. To prepare for this activity, all students—including Senate members—should complete **Worksheet 8.** Urge students to gather information from adults who represent each of the groups. Or, adult representatives of the various groups might attend the mock committee hearing and comment on students' positions. The purpose of the committee hearing should be to develop an understanding of the arguments presented by each interest group and to recognize why consensus is so difficult to achieve. Discuss with students a policy that they feel would best protect the interests of all citizens.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to expand your unit on health care in the United States. You may find them valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. If possible, have students invite parents, grandparents, physicians, and insurance brokers to sit on a panel discussing health issues. Students should prepare questions regarding Medicare, Medicaid, and other types of health insurance. Questions can range from the technical to personal experiences with health costs and medical care. Select one group of students to compile and edit questions submitted by the class and another to ask questions of the panel. If possible, students should make most of the arrangements.

2. Interested students may wish to research health care in other nations. Some interesting choices might be Canada, China, Great Britain, India, Japan, Sweden, and the Soviet Union. If time allows, have students share their research with the entire class.

3. President Harry Truman believed that "financial means should not determine the quality and quantity of medical services a citizen receives." Does income affect the quality of health care citizens receive in the United States today? Ask students to write an essay of about five hundred words reacting to President Truman's statement. If time permits, have students share their essays with the class.

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Immigration

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Evaluate government policies toward non-English-speaking immigrants, economic refugees, and employers who hire illegal aliens.
2. Analyze current immigration problems in the United States.
3. Evaluate government efforts to regulate immigration.
4. Develop and defend an immigration policy of their own.

Terms and Concepts

- amnesty
- assimilate
- bilingual
- displaced person
- economic refugee
- employer sanctions
- illegal alien
- open door policy
- quotas
- refugee
- sanctuary

Activities

1. Have students examine Figures 1 and 2 on page 50 and answer the following questions:

- When do you think each cartoon was drawn? What evidence supports your conclusion?
- What symbols do you see in each cartoon and what do they represent?
- What message is each cartoonist trying to convey?
- What do these cartoons suggest about the response of some Americans to immigration throughout history?
- Do you think that immigration is a problem today? Why or why not?
- How might immigration issues affect you?

When students have had time to answer the questions, use their answers as the basis for a class discussion. Discuss the unit objectives and stress the importance of the key questions.

2. Begin this activity by telling students that until the late 1800s most immigrants to the United States came from Northern and Western Europe and were culturally similar to the people already here. However, toward the end of the century, immigration patterns began to shift, as large numbers of immigrants began coming from countries that were culturally dissimilar to the United States. Discuss the cultural differences and how they affected later immigrants. Did they "fit in" as well as earlier immigrants? Discuss prejudice and discrimination and their effect on succeeding groups of immigrants. Also, discuss how economic issues affected immigration.

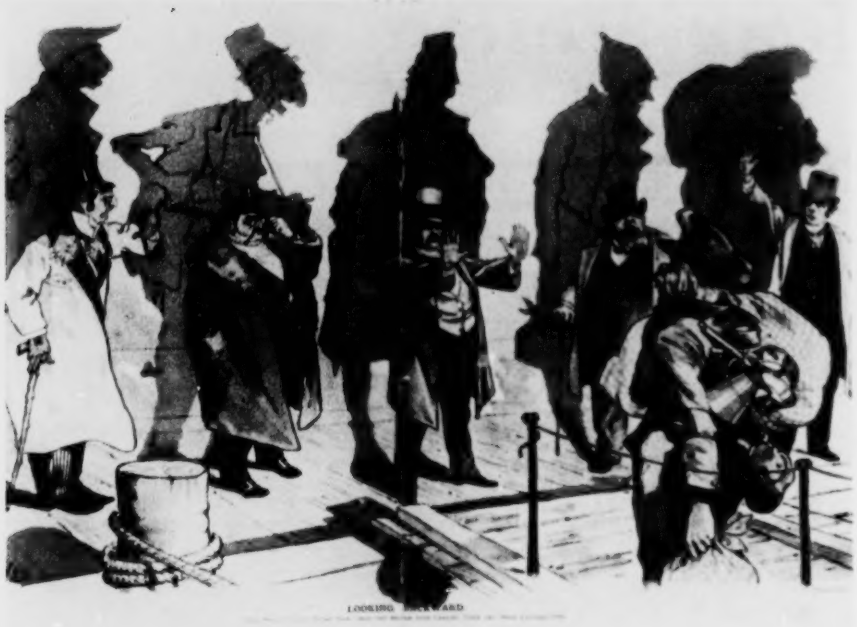
LOOKING BACKWARD

Figure 1 *Culver Pictures*

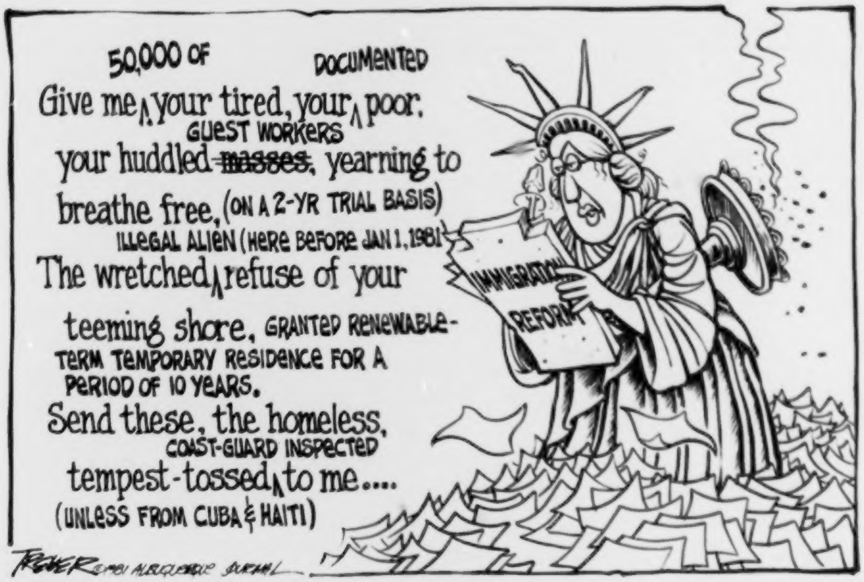
50,000 OF
DOCUMENTED
Give me your tired, your poor,
GUEST WORKERS
your huddled ~~masses~~, yearning to
breathe free, (ON A 2-YR TRIAL BASIS)
ILLEGAL ALIEN (HERE BEFORE JAN 1, 1981)
The wretched refuse of your
teeming shore, GRANTED RENEWABLE-TERM TEMPORARY RESIDENCE FOR A PERIOD OF 10 YEARS.
Send these, the homeless,
COAST-GUARD INSPECTED
tempest-tossed to me....
(UNLESS FROM CUBA & HAITI)
IMMIGRATION REFORM
TREVER ©1981 ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL

Figure 2 *reprinted by permission of John Trever,* Albuquerque Journal

Have students read "Background" in *Current Issues* and complete **Worksheet 9.** If time permits, ask students to investigate in more detail the history of restrictive legislation for immigrants. Discuss the worksheet and any additional data students may have collected.

3. Encourage students to read "Current Issues" and "The Debate." Then have them gather evidence supporting both sides in the pro-con debates. Urge them to examine current periodicals for their evidence. Have them identify the author's main point in each article they find. Then, discuss the validity of their evidence. Encourage students to search for solid evidence by scanning heads, introductory and concluding paragraphs, and topic sentences.

Compare today's arguments about restricting immigration with those offered in the past. Are they similar or different? Were yesterday's arguments valid? Even if past arguments were not valid before, have conditions in the United States changed to the point where these same arguments might be valid today? Why should the government have any role in controlling immigration?

4. To prepare for a mock hearing of the Presidential Immigration Commission, divide the class into the following seven groups:

- California farmers
- border patrol officers
- employers of illegal aliens
- labor unions
- immigrants legally in the United States
- public officials of a U.S.-Mexican border city
- the Presidential Immigration Commission

The group representing the Presidential Immigration Commission should prepare by studying current immigration laws and discussing the procedures they are going to use in the hearing. Meanwhile, using information from *Current Issues* and other sources, the other six groups should do the following:

a. Identify their interests in, and concerns with, current immigration laws.
b. Develop arguments supporting the interests and concerns they have identified.
c. Collect evidence supporting their arguments.
d. Identify areas where they may be willing to negotiate and compromise.
e. Speculate on arguments that their opponents may use, and develop a response to each argument.

When the groups have completed their work, conduct a hearing by the Presidential Immigration Commission. The commission's job is to develop federal immigration policy to recommend to the president and Congress. The commission should attempt to draft a policy that satisfies—or is at least an acceptable compromise for—

everyone. Emphasize to students that all sides may have to sacrifice some policies to get others they believe are more important. The commission should be familiar enough with current immigration legislation to make accurate recommendations. After each group has presented its position before the commission and all sides have had a chance to negotiate, the commission should come up with a final recommendation.

After the commission has presented its recommendation, ask students to abandon the identities they had in their groups and discuss the issues from their personal perspectives. They should refer to their pro-con positions developed earlier. Has this exercise changed their positions? Why or why not? If they think the policy developed by the commission still presents a problem, what solution do they offer? Remind them of the need to satisfy a range of constituencies as represented in the hearing. Finally, compare their solutions with recently enacted immigration laws. What are the similarities and differences?

Conclude with a discussion of what students learned from the mock hearing. Emphasize the difficulty of reaching decisions when many different opinions are held, and the value of compromise in a democracy.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on immigration. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Tell each student to take a personal stand on one of the following questions:

   - Do immigrants take jobs away from Americans?
   - Will immigrants blend into the United States?

Have students support their position by researching books, newspaper articles and editorials, newsmagazines, documentary films and videotapes, and employment and education statistics. They may also want to interview professionals such as teachers and social workers who work with immigrants.

On the day the research is due, group students according to the stand they have taken on each question. Allow students in each group time to exchange the evidence they have gathered to support their opinion. Have each group choose two students to represent it in a panel discussion in front of the class, advocating and criticizing each position in turn so that every student can benefit from all research.

2. In a letter to the editor or in an editorial submitted to the school newspaper, students should briefly but convincingly state their position on the most recent legislative proposals dealing with immigration.

3. Students interested in extra activities on the topic of immigration may wish to select one or more of the following activities:

a. Contact their senators and representative to find out their positions on various pieces of immigration legislation. Discuss legislators' positions in light of the location and demographic character of your state and region.

b. Trace their own family tree, highlighting family members who immigrated to the United States. How did past immigration policy affect their ancestors? Would their ancestors face any problems if they wanted to enter the United States today?

c. Interview a recent immigrant to the United States to find out why he or she came. Do the new immigrants believe the United States is "the land of opportunity"? What surprised them most about this country? What problems have they encountered?

Energy

Student Objectives

Students will:
1. Compare free market and government regulated approaches to a national energy policy.
2. Evaluate costs and benefits of alternative energy sources.
3. Evaluate conservation and production approaches to addressing the energy needs of the United States.

Terms and Concepts

- acid rain
- alternative energy sources
- Arab oil embargo
- Department of Energy
- energy crisis
- energy-efficient
- fossil fuels
- free market
- oil glut
- oil reserves
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
- price decontrol
- renewable energy sources
- synthetic fuels
- windfall profits tax

Activities

1. Write "energy crisis" on the board and create a word network by asking students to respond with words and terms that "energy crisis" brings to mind. List responses on the board. Leave enough room between early responses so that the list can be expanded. Draw lines connecting later responses to terms listed earlier. For example, you may have lines connecting "energy crisis" to "oil" to "Middle East" and then to "embargo." Occasionally stop and ask students to explain why they thought of a particular word or term. What triggered their choice?

When you have finished compiling the list, discuss students' reactions to their word network. Near the end of the discussion tell the class that some experts predict that world oil reserves will last less than fifty years at current levels of consumption. Then, while reflecting on the list, ask them to develop two categories of statements:

- information we think we know about the energy crisis
- information we would like to know about the energy crisis

Briefly discuss their statements and post them on the board for reference during the study of the unit.

2. Ask students to write a one-page paper describing a day in their life if suddenly there was no more oil. Select several students to read their essays in class and then lead a discussion on why they should be concerned with energy issues. Emphasize that virtually every aspect of their lives currently is affected by oil.

3. Give students one minute to scan the "Background" section in "Energy." Then, ask them to write three questions that they would expect to be answered in these pages. Have several students read their questions and explain why they think the questions will be answered in the reading. Ask how they arrived at their questions with just a quick scan of the material.

Suggest to the class that the heads in *Current Issues* provide a good clue about questions that will be addressed and that they should always scan them first before reading the text. Use the following examples to make your point:

Head	***Question***
Energy Means Growth	How does energy promote growth?
Oil Becomes King	Why did oil become king?
Alternative Energy Sources	What are alternative energy sources? What are their strengths and weaknesses?

Then have students form groups of eleven (or whatever is convenient depending on size of class). Assign each student in each group one of the eleven heads in "Background." Ask each student to develop a question for his or her assigned head and answer it. Then, have all students read all of "Background" and record important information for each section, but remind them they are primarily responsible for the section they were assigned.

After they have had sufficient time to prepare, groups should get together and each student should ask his or her question and lead a group discussion. Others should share information that they felt was important in that particular section. When everyone has had a chance to lead a discussion, wrap up the activity with a general discussion of the reading.

4. Now that students have an idea how to develop questions from reading the heads, have them read the "Current Issues" part of "Energy" and write one question for each section following a head. List students' questions on the board and discuss the reasoning linking the heads with their questions. Group questions into two categories:

- What should be the federal government's energy policy?
- What are the most promising alternative sources of energy and their costs and benefits?

Then, individually or in small groups, have students assume that they have been appointed policymakers in the Department of Energy. Their task is to respond in writing to the questions on the board. To help students complete this exercise, suggest that they complete **Worksheet 10** and **Worksheet 11.** Urge them to use not only *Current Issues* but other resources to complete the worksheets. After completing the worksheets, they should prepare their energy policy and tell what energy sources they would promote. Individuals or groups may then submit position papers to the whole class, inviting everyone to agree or disagree.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on energy. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Make several copies of **Worksheet 12**—Energy Survey—for each student. Tell them to survey at least three people over the age of thirty-five and three people under the age of thirty-five. Questionnaires can be anonymous, but students should record the respondent's age, sex, and level of education.

Students should come to class with their completed survey forms. Have them total, for each question, the number of A's, D's, and U's. Responses of the entire class may be computed also. How do people feel about each question? Are there contradictory responses from some individuals? (For example: Did anyone agree with both questions 4 and 6?) What did students learn from this survey? Are some people unaware of the facts about energy?

If possible, analyze the data to see if there are differences between older and younger people, males and females, and those with higher and lower educational levels. A computer would be particularly helpful in analyzing the data. See if there is a student volunteer who might enjoy this work.

Finally, the results of the class survey would make an interesting article for the school or local community newspaper. Again, a student volunteer might benefit from this activity.

2. "The challenge for U.S. energy policy in the next century will be to ensure stable supplies of energy at as low a price as possible." This quote refers to the "challenge" before America. In a fictional essay, have students predict how their grandchildren and great-grandchildren will meet this challenge in 2095. What will their lives be like? How will they obtain their energy? What will it be used for? Encourage students to use their imaginations in writing this essay. Don't restrict them to a certain length or style of writing. Their creativity may contain some potentially useful solutions to the energy dilemma we now face.

3. In cooperation with the science department, have students do research or develop a science project on Three Mile Island or Chernobyl, acid rain, nuclear waste, the Environmental Protection Agency, synthetic fuels, or another energy related topic of their choice. These projects should be shared with students in both the social studies and science classes.

Environment

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Evaluate public policy options such as reducing acid rain and charging polluters for the cleanup of the environment.
2. Learn steps they can take to protect the environment.
3. Describe how public priorities influence the actions of government.
4. Explain how environmental issues are examples of interdependence and individual civic responsibility.

Terms and Concepts

- acid rain
- carcinogen
- Clean Air Act
- Clean Water Act
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- greenhouse effect
- Love Canal
- nuclear waste
- organic waste
- ozone
- pesticides
- pollution
- Superfund
- toxic waste
- urban runoff

Activities

1. One week before beginning this unit, ask students to begin collecting newspaper and newsmagazine articles about environmental issues. Then, on the first day of the unit study, ask students to summarize the articles and share them with the class. After each article has been summarized, have students pick one word or term to describe the article or their feelings about it. List these words on the board. After everyone has shared at least one article, discuss the words and terms on the board. What tentative conclusions can they draw? What do they think they know about the environment? What would they like to know? Why is the environment an important issue?

2. Have students keep a detailed log of their activities for one morning. Then ask them to identify how each activity may have affected the environment. For example, if they record that a radio alarm woke them to begin the day, they might consider if manufacturing the radio or producing the electricity to power it had any effect on the environment. If their next activity was taking a shower, they would probably think about how the water was heated and what happened to the drained water. Select several other daily activities and discuss their environmental implications. Discuss the relationship between their standard of living and the environment. Ask students what steps they might take in their everyday lives to protect the environment.

3. Begin by asking students to scan the first page of "Environment" in *Current Issues*. What key issues do they think this chapter will address? What evidence can they provide to support their conclusions? After briefly discussing the introductory page, students should read "Background" and complete **Worksheet 13**. Then, have them analyze the worksheet and use it to answer the following questions:

- Is the world facing an environmental crisis or have the problems been exaggerated? Why or why not?
- Has legislation been effective in dealing with environmental issues? Should the government take additional action? Why or why not?
- Is today's environment better or worse than it was twenty years ago? Explain your answer.
- Would you be willing to pay more for products or in taxes for stricter environmental protection? How might that affect your standard of living?

Use students' answers to these questions as a basis for a class discussion.

4. Ask students to read "Current Issues" in the environment chapter and complete **Worksheet 14**. When they have completed the reading and the worksheet, they should do the following:

a. Identify one local environmental issue that they would like to study further, such as a coal-powered electric plant, a nuclear power plant, a chemical plant or industrial user of dangerous chemicals, a medical or research facility using nuclear materials, or pollution caused by car exhaust fumes.

b. After identifying a local issue, have students develop questions and possible policies for dealing with the issues. They might want to ask knowledgeable representatives from business, government, and interest groups to respond to their questions and policy ideas.

After students have developed their questions and gathered their information, lead a discussion about local environmental issues. What solutions do they have for dealing with local problems? Do they think local issues can be handled locally or will they require federal intervention? Do students think the federal government should take a larger or smaller role in protecting the environment? Near the end of the discussion, ask them to react to the following statements:

- All federal environmental legislation should be repealed.
- Federal environmental laws should be tougher than they are now.
- Local environmental issues should be handled at the local and state level.
- Federal pollution standards should vary depending on the area of the country rather than being the same throughout the whole nation.
- Automobiles should be subject to tougher pollution standards than they are now.
- Automobiles should not be equipped with anti-pollution equipment because it drives up the cost of cars and reduces gas mileage.
- Factories producing products harmful to the environment should be closed.

Add similar statements about environmental issues facing your community to bring the issue to the local level.

5. Inform students that they are going to debate the following topics:

- Economic considerations should take priority over environmental issues.
- The U.S. government should act to reduce acid rain.
- Polluters should pay the cost of environmental cleanup.

Divide the class into six groups. Each group must be prepared to debate either the pro or con side of all three topics. Give students sufficient time to use current resources to prepare their debate. Suggest that one or two students from each group collect information on each topic and then teach the rest of the group about it. Each group can choose an "expert" on each issue to speak for them in the debate.

On debate day, assign each group its topic and side. Designate a student or yourself as debate moderator to keep the discussion moving. Conclude each debate with a brief discussion highlighting the strongest arguments made by each side.

Poll the class to determine which position was most popular and why. Which arguments were most persuasive? Were students swayed by emotional appeals or by arguments based on fact? What does this suggest about techniques of persuasion? Have the arguments changed anyone's attitude or behavior regarding environmental issues?

To conclude the debate session, lead a discussion on priorities. Suggest that we all value some things more than others and the choices we make often reflect our personal priorities. Ask students to identify some of the values discussed during this unit. Can they think of ways in which their behavior reflects their values and priorities? Suggest that whenever students have to make a decision they should be aware of their values and priorities and how such values and priorities might influence that decision.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the environment. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have all students select the one local environmental issue they think is most pressing. Students should gather information on this problem and then identify what legislative or regulatory actions they believe are necessary to alleviate the problem. Basing their choice on their fact finding, tell them to choose one or more of the following activities:

a. Write or telephone the local offices of their senators and representative. Find out where these legislators stand on this matter and what they propose as a solution. Legislators will make their opinion known over the phone or in a follow-up letter.

b. Produce a flyer based on facts they have gathered and suggest action they think would be appropriate. If possible, they can distribute the flyer in their classes, school, church, and community.

c. Create a display using newspaper and newsmagazine clippings relating to the issue they selected. Make it as eye-catching and interesting as possible.

d. Voice their concerns on this issue in a letter to the editor of their local or school newspaper. If possible, explain how this problem affects your community—both directly and indirectly.

2. Ask students to pretend they are a presidential spokesperson for the Bush administration. A decision has been made to open federal land to energy developers. They should write a letter, which will be placed in a time capsule to be opened in one hundred years, explaining this action to future generations.

3. Have students find out which local environmental groups are active in their area. Is there a branch of the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Defenders of Wildlife, or Friends of the Earth? Students should tell the class how to contact or join these groups. Also, they should talk to federal agencies in their area—the Environmental Protection Agency, National Park Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the National Marine Fisheries Service—to find out if federal budget cuts have affected their local area. Students should ask what programs have been cut, if people have been laid off, and what level of environmental protection the agency can now provide.

Agriculture

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Develop and evaluate a variety of alternative federal policies toward farm price supports, international agricultural markets, and assistance for farmers unable to pay their debts.
2. Identify major factors prompting a "farm crisis."
3. Analyze current agricultural issues from a historical perspective.
4. Describe economic concepts such as free markets, supply and demand, and foreign trade.

Terms and Concepts

- corporate-owned farms
- family farms
- free market
- irrigation
- market prices
- parity
- price supports
- set-asides
- soil conservation
- subsidies
- supply and demand
- target prices

Activities

1. Begin a class discussion by providing students with the following information:

- In 1940, 30.5 million people in the United States were farmers. In 1990, 2.1 million people were farmers.
- In 1977, federal payments to farmers were slightly more than $5 billion. In 1987, payments were $18 billion.
- Some experts say that about 1,000 U.S. farmers declare bankruptcy each week.
- Because of governmental subsidies in Europe and lower land costs and standards of living in South America, farmers from those areas can sell food on the international market for lower prices than U.S. farmers.
- The average age of an American farmer is more than fifty years old.

Now, discuss the following questions with the class:

- Are you surprised by any of this information? If so, what and why?
- Does any of this information seem contradictory?
- What trends can you infer from this information? What are the implications?
- Is there a "farm crisis"? How would you describe it?
- Based on this evidence, are there additional questions you would like to ask? Where might you find the answers to those questions?
- How might the trends and issues you have identified influence your life?
- Why should you care if there is a farm crisis?

Introduce the key questions as additional issues to be examined if students have not already identified them as important.

2. Provide students with a brief, but rich, summary of farm issues during the Populist and Depression eras and have them complete the chart at the top of **Worksheet 15**. Then, have students read "Agriculture" in *Current Issues*, and complete the rest of the worksheet. Organize students into groups of three. Each student in a group should be responsible for sharing data from one of the worksheet columns. After each student has shared his or her data, others can add any additional information they have gathered.

When the groups are satisfied that they have collected all the important information, ask each group to share its findings with the rest of the class. They should discuss the similarities and differences among the three historical periods. Are the problems faced by farmers today similar to those faced in the past? Are the problems more or less serious than in the past? Why or why not?

3. Organize a mock press conference to address agricultural issues. Ask students to assume that, because of the productivity and reputation of U.S. farms, newspaper reporters from around the world are coming to study American agriculture and government agricultural policies. The students, as representatives of the groups listed below, have been invited to meet with these reporters.

Divide the class into five equal groups, each representing one of the following:

- board of directors of a large corporation owning many large farms
- an organization representing small family farmers
- taxpayers
- consumers
- grain exporters

Provide students with time and resources to research and answer the following questions, and to adopt a position that they believe would be consistent with the views of the group they represent. Be prepared to give some help to groups as they try to articulate the interests and values of the people they represent. Students should use all resources available to them to answer the following questions from the perspective of their group.

- Should the government end all payments to farmers? Should it increase payments to farmers?
- Should the government take steps to help U.S. farmers compete on the international market? If yes, what steps do you recommend and why? If no, why not?
- Should the government help farmers who cannot pay their debts? If yes, why? If no, why should the government not help?

- What problems does your group face regarding agricultural issues?
- What are your recommendations for addressing those problems? Are your recommendations fair to everyone?

Include additional questions that may have been raised in previous class discussions.

After the groups have had time to write answers to the questions, call the news conference. Each group should appear one at a time and field questions from the rest of the class, which is now representing the reporters. Remind the reporters that their questions should be similar to those researched by each group. The reporters should not ask surprise questions. Follow-up questions are appropriate if they relate to the original question. Each group should decide who will speak for it or if all group members want a chance to speak.

At the conclusion of all the presentations, ask the class to select the best point made by each group while defending its position. Discuss with the class how the policy recommendation made by each group would influence the other groups. Each policy recommendation should be examined from the standpoint of issues such as its effect on family farms, corporate farms, and world markets. Discuss with students how agriculture is influenced by laws of supply and demand, export tariffs, and the free market.

You may want to invite actual representatives of a corporate farm board, a family farm organization, a taxpayer group, a consumer group, or a grain exporter to class. They could assume several roles. For example, they may help their student counterparts respond to the questions, or they could critique student responses. They could engage in a panel discussion after the students present their views, and the students could compare their responses with those of the actual group representatives.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on agriculture. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Government's role in farming has increased since the 1930s. The following activity will help students analyze the effectiveness of the government's programs after they have read "Agriculture" in *Current Issues*.

Divide the class into six small groups. Assign each group one of the following topics:

- What are the benefits of setting target prices?
- What problems are caused by setting target prices?
- What are the benefits of guaranteed loans as price supports to farmers?
- What problems result from guaranteed loans that are given to farmers as price supports?
- What are the benefits of paying farmers to take land out of production?
- What problems result when farmers are paid to take land out of production?

In fifteen to twenty minutes, have the groups skim the *Current Issues* chapter, discuss their questions, and come up with a list of the problems or benefits relating to their topic. Ask a representative from each group to write the question on the board and briefly summarize the group's answer. In the class discussion that follows, have each group explain its answer more fully. Encourage other class members to add to their list of problems and benefits or to question a response. Are some points listed as both an advantage and disadvantage of the same farm program? Students will enjoy sorting out the distinctions among the responses.

To summarize this activity, ask students the following question: To what extent should the government be involved in farm production? Ask students with strong opinions to voice them to the group, using the facts gleaned from this activity. Can the class agree on an answer to this question? Assuming they cannot, what does that tell them about the complexity of the issue in the national arena?

2. Critics of government farm subsidies say that current programs raise food prices for consumers. Some policymakers believe American consumers can afford to pay more for food to help improve the health of the farm industry.

This activity involves writing a feature story along the lines of the "human interest" stories that frequently appear in newspapers and magazines. Ask each student to interview an individual or family on how an increase in food prices would affect them. Have students provide a demographic profile of their subject. Tell students to include in their story as many direct quotes as possible, as well as facts about their subject's food budget and percent of income spent on food each year.

Students may wish to profile their own family for this story, or they may choose a friend they believe would make an interesting subject. Students need not know the subject well, because interesting stories can be written about senior citizens, the disabled, or even college students. Some students may decide to profile a local farm family.

After all the stories have been written, have students post them on a class bulletin board. Encourage students to read all the stories within a period of a few days. Tell them to draw some conclusions about which groups would be most affected by a food price increase and why. Is the statement made at the onset of this activity—that American consumers can afford to pay more for food—true for the people interviewed by your students?

3. President Bush proposes to gradually phase out agricultural subsidies over the next several years. In a short paper, have students analyze the president's solution from two points of view: (1) that of the government, and (2) that of a farmer. Students should supplement the material presented in the *Current Issues* chapter with at least two articles from newspapers or newsmagazines. Be sure they credit their sources where necessary.

Once the papers are complete, have students reread their responses. What are their positions on this issue? Ask students to explain their positions in three to four sentences at the end of the paper.

Now that students have become experts on price supports, tell them to share their opinions with their senators and representatives in Washington via a letter, telephone call, or mailgram when Congress is considering farm issues.

Crime

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Examine the constitutional issues raised by handgun registration, protections for suspected criminals, overcrowded prisons, and the death penalty.
2. Explain the causes and costs of crime.
3. Discuss the government's role in the war on drugs.
4. Identify ways to implement steps to reduce crime in their area.

Activities

1. Give all students five copies of **Worksheet 16**—Crime Survey—and ask them to conduct the survey in their community. Suggest they contact family members, neighbors, and friends. After students complete the survey—give them a time limit—tabulate the results and compute distribution of responses by percentage.

Lead a discussion based on the results of the survey. What do these figures suggest about community attitudes toward crime and related issues?

Ask students to fill out the survey themselves and compare their own responses with those of the community. Are they the same or different? Why? Did any of the responses surprise students? If yes, which ones and why? What inferences might students draw about their community and themselves based on this data?

Probe carefully to be certain that students support their inferences with evidence. Define inferences and explain that they can be wrong. Remind students that they must find evidence to back their inference and that they must be open to accepting other explanations of the data.

Inform students that this unit will focus on a variety of crime-related issues including causes and costs of crime, handgun registration, the death penalty, the rights of criminal suspects, drug-related crime, and steps to be taken to reduce crime in their community. Briefly discuss these issues and ask students to think about why crime is an important topic for them to study. Finally, have them develop three or four questions that they would like answered during the study of the unit. Suggest they keep them on hand during class discussions.

Terms and Concepts

- capital punishment
- career criminal
- cruel and unusual punishment
- Exclusionary Rule
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- gun control
- household crime
- intensive probation
- *Miranda* ruling
- parole
- unreasonable search and seizure
- violent crime

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2. Have the students work individually as they read "Background" in *Current Issues* and list four pieces of information from those pages that they feel are particularly important. For example, from the section "Crime in America," a student might write, "35.8 million criminal offenses occurred in 1988." They should be prepared to justify the importance of the bits of information they selected. Then they should place a star beside the item that they believe is most important. Tell each student to make a copy of his or her most important item and give it to you. Post the following chapter heads on a bulletin board and pin the students' items below them.

- Crime in America
- What Causes Crime?
- Cost of Crime
- Legal Rights for Suspected Criminals

Next, tell the class that they will have five to ten minutes to walk around the room and teach their fact to as many people as they can. Urge them to be as persuasive as possible.

After ten to fifteen minutes, begin rephrasing the students' facts into questions and posing them to the class. Try to cover every item under each category. While discussing individual items, determine who wrote the item and why he or she thought it was important. Avoid duplicating identical or similar questions. When all items in a category have been covered and students have defended their choice of facts, discuss any further questions they may have.

3. Before students read *Current Issues*, divide the class into four groups (if you have more than thirty students in your class, use eight groups) with one of the following topics assigned to each group:

- the war on drugs
- gun control
- overcrowded prisons
- the death penalty

Each group is to complete **Worksheet 17** for its topic and be responsible for reporting back to the entire class. Give students sufficient time to research their topic and urge them to use current periodicals and other sources of information. After groups have finished their research and completed Worksheet 17, have them report their findings back to the class and allow the rest of the students to question them. As the teacher, you may want to play devil's advocate by pressing groups to explain their reasoning. Encourage their classmates to pose tough questions to the presentors.

4. Have students identify crime "hot spots" in your community by following the local crime report in the paper, inviting a police officer to the class, or interviewing an authority in the police department. Encourage them to find out what kinds of crime are easiest to prevent through citizen awareness. Where do these crimes occur most frequently in your community? What steps could students take to reduce crime? Ask them to find out about neighborhood watch programs. If they exist, students can find out how they can help promote them or be involved. Invite a police officer to come to class or to a parents' night to discuss ways of protecting persons and property from crime. Discuss other ways you and your class can help to reduce crime in your community.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on crime. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Invite guest speakers to "face off" on the crime issue in a class panel discussion. Speakers can be suggested by you, your students, or drawn from a list of volunteer speakers available to the school. Try to choose representatives from among the following groups and agencies: American Civil Liberties Union, police department, state attorney's office, National Rifle Association, handgun control groups, parole boards, juvenile crime agencies, a crime victim, a convicted criminal, or other individuals of interest to the class. Have students call or write to arrange the participation of the speakers.

Once guests are scheduled, tell students to submit their questions to you for approval. Using these questions, guests should focus the discussion on a few specific issues, and should allow time for questions from the floor. Have students select three or four questioners from the class to organize the questions and serve on the panel. Have all students prepare by reading and researching these specific issues, sharing their findings with the panel. If possible, share these broad issues with the guests a week or so before the scheduled presentation.

On the day the speakers arrive, have one student greet them, another introduce them to the class, and another write thank-you notes once the session is completed. After the discussion, have students evaluate the speakers. How knowledgeable were they? What did students learn that they did not know before? Did any of the speakers' careers appeal to them? What more do students want to know about the issues at hand? Would the students recommend this speaker to another class? Why or why not?

2. Most students have a strong opinion on the issue of handgun control. Have each student design a poster, advertisement, or leaflet reflecting his or her personal feeling on this issue. Have a classroom display to allow students to critique each other's work once it is completed. Which pieces are most effective? Why? Are any arguments faulty? Did any pieces change students' opinions?

3. Have each student contribute an article or story to a classroom newsmagazine titled *Crime in America*. The thrust of the newsmagazine is to inform teenagers on crime-related issues. Some possible topics for feature articles are:

- The exclusionary rule—how does it affect you?
- Does crime pay?
- Can criminals be rehabilitated?
- crime and poverty in your community
- drug trafficking and organized crime
- family violence and teens
- Who are the career criminals?
- cost of crime to you
- *Miranda* ruling
- prison violence
- Mandatory sentencing—do you agree?
- pros and cons of plea bargaining
- Is capital punishment a deterrent to crime?
- capital punishment and discrimination

Have students or family volunteers type each article after it has been researched, written, and edited. If possible, ask students to illustrate their articles with drawings or photographs. Your school newspaper may have copy equipment that can be used to make the students' publication look more professional. An eye-catching cover would be ideal.

Once the newsmagazine is completed, copies can be distributed to school and community members, or perhaps it can be sold at a minimal charge to cover printing costs.

Foreign Policy Issues

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The Soviet Union

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Describe U.S.-Soviet relations since 1945 and the effect of ideology on those relations.
2. Evaluate current U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union.
3. Examine both sides of U.S.-Soviet relations and how they affect the rest of the world.
4. Speculate on future relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Terms and Concepts

- cold war
- detente
- domino theory
- *glasnost*
- Helsinki Accord
- Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- *perestroika*
- SALT I
- SALT II
- sphere of influence
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (START)
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- Warsaw Pact

Activities

1. Have each student select three to five words that he or she thinks best describe the Soviet Union. Students should state their words while you write them on the board. Challenge students occasionally, and ask them to explain why they selected certain words. After the list is complete, discuss where they got their images of the Soviet Union.

Then ask the class to rate each word with a minus sign indicating a negative connotation, a plus sign indicating a positive connotation, or a zero indicating a neutral connotation. Total the pluses and minuses and compare them. What are the implications of this total? What do students think would happen if Soviet students did a similar exercise about the United States? What implications do such results have for international cooperation?

2. Ask students to write five statements that they believe accurately describe the Soviet Union. Then have them rate each statement from one to five according to its importance to the world. Also, have them rate each statement for its importance to themselves. Ask students to read one of their statements in class, and explain why they rated the item as they did in terms of world and individual importance. Challenge statements that seem contrary to fact. Students should then prepare questions about the Soviet Union that they would like answered, and save their questions for future discussion.

3. Have students read "Background" and complete the timeline exercise on **Worksheet 18.** They should select major events in U.S.-Soviet relations and place them in appropriate spots along the timeline. Then ask them to rate each five-year period from one to five—five indicating a very positive relationship and one indicating a very negative relationship.

When students have had sufficient time to complete the exercise, discuss the events they selected. Fill in the important omissions. Then, total the scores, write them on the board, and talk about them. Students should explain their ratings and compare them with one another. Discuss which incidents were most significant and why.

After the important events have been identified, pair up students and have them select one event. One student will write a newspaper article for the *Washington Post* and the other for *Pravda*. Ask the pairs to read their articles in class. Compare the two reports. How are they similar? How are they different? What does this suggest about how perspective can influence interpretation of facts?

4. Display a large political map of the world and compare the locations of the United States and the Soviet Union. Then discuss those locations. Which nation would probably have the greatest concerns about security? Why? Briefly summarize Soviet history, emphasizing its vulnerability from both east and west and its war losses in this century. Ask students how the location and history of the Soviet Union might influence its leaders.

5. Tell students that they are journalists working for a major national newsmagazine. They are going to investigate three areas of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union:

- U.S. interpretation of Soviet motives
- How the United States should respond to communist movements in other nations
- U.S. stance with regard to independence movements by several Soviet republics

Divide the class into six groups of equal size, assigning two groups to each of the three topics. They should investigate their topic and write a story for their magazine.

Students should read *Current Issues* and use outside sources to gain an overview of the topics. Give them sufficient time to do their research. While writing their articles, they should pay particular attention to *glasnost* and its implications for U.S. policy. Does *glasnost* present a golden opportunity or is it simply a cover for business as usual? Will *glasnost* increase or decrease the likelihood of a change in international tensions? Urge students to offer evidence supporting their positions.

When articles are finished, ask students to hand them in. Then, make copies and distribute all six articles to every member of the class. Discuss them. Compare articles written about the same topics. Do students think the United States should attempt to influence events in other countries? Why or why not? What methods should the United States use? Do they favor diplomatic methods, military methods, propaganda?

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the Soviet Union. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Give students their choice of three activities using original sources.

a. Select two or three events described in "The Soviet Union" in *Current Issues* that are of particular interest to them. Tell students to visit a large library and trace the event through original newspaper and newsmagazine articles. What is their perception of the events as reported at the time? Does it alter the view they formed from reading the text? Have students share their findings with the class, and place copies of original articles on the class bulletin board.

b. Read newspapers and newsmagazines to find out what has taken place in U.S.-Soviet relations since President Bush took office. Have representatives of the two sides met since Bush became president? What topics have they discussed? Students should speculate on what to expect next.

c. Interview their parents, grandparents, and other friends and relatives on their memories of events involving the Soviet Union. For example, have them interview someone who lived through World War II. Suggest they ask the following types of questions:

- What are your memories and perceptions of events during this time?
- What influenced your opinions of the Soviet Union?
- How do you feel about the Soviets now?

Do their opinions differ from those of the student? If so, how? It would be interesting to have students tape-record the interview and share salient portions with the class. It would be especially exciting to have students invite a panel of speakers to address the class. Have students speculate on what it would have been like for them if they had lived at that time.

2. In class, locate the Soviet Union and the United States on a world map. A topographic map would be best. Ask students the following questions:

- What are the major geographical differences between the Soviet Union and the United States?
- How have these differences affected the historical, economic, and political concerns of both countries?

As students offer answers, list them on the board. Discuss climate, natural resources, size, access to the sea, and so forth. Then divide the class into groups representing Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Each group should be prepared to locate its area on the map and discuss how that area's location has affected its relations with the Soviet Union. The concepts of "spheres of influence" and the "domino theory" can easily be brought into this discussion.

3. Have students write a letter that they could send to their senators or representative with their views on U.S. relations with the Soviet Union. The letter should affirm their support for the Bush administration's policies, or it should oppose them, specifically stating how their personal views differ. Discuss the Bush administration's policies toward the Soviet Union.

Defense

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Define and apply the concept of national security.
2. Explain the evolution of current U.S. defense policies.
3. Evaluate defense policies of the United States.
4. Explain the uses and limitations of military power.
5. Compare arguments for and against increasing defense spending.

Terms and Concepts

- arms race
- B-1 bomber
- B-2 (Stealth) bomber
- burden sharing
- conventional forces
- deterrence
- mutually assured destruction (MAD)
- national security
- "peace through strength"
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- triad
- War Powers Act of 1973

Activities

1. Have students complete **Worksheet 19**—Student Pretest—and use it as a basis for discussing defense issues. Pay particular attention to student responses to items two and three on the pretest. These questions should give you a good idea about student attitudes toward defense and should lead to a lively discussion.

Introduce the concept of national security and discuss whether military power is the only measure of national security. You might point out that the United States has more firepower in one bomb now than it had in all of the weapons fired in World War II. Does that mean we are more secure today than we were in 1945? Why or why not? Have students tell what they think national security means. Be sure to include such factors as geography, resources, economic wealth, and allies.

Also pay particular attention to responses to items six and seven in the pretest. Just as with items two and three, you might want to use them to lead into a discussion of the effect of national defense on the U.S. economy—or on the Soviet economy. Ask students what they think this pretest says about their knowledge and attitudes about defense. Why should defense issues be of interest to them? Conclude the activity by having students jot down questions about defense they would like to have answered during the study of this unit.

2. Ask students to assess the impact of defense spending in your area. Suggest they use the white and yellow pages of your phone book to find examples of what may be defense-related businesses and operations such as military recruitment offices, military bases, and industries with defense contracts. Individual students probably know companies that do defense-related business. Discuss the items they find and write them on the board. Discuss the economic impact in your community. How would increased or decreased defense spending influence your community? How would it affect them and their family?

3. Have students read "Background" in *Current Issues* and work in pairs to complete **Worksheet 20.** Encourage students to read other sources of information about defense issues while completing the worksheet. Then conduct a class discussion using the students' responses on the worksheet.

4. Divide students into three groups of eleven. If you have extra students or not quite enough to fill out a group, you can adjust or double up on several items. Then tell them that each group owns a magazine company and they are going to publish an issue featuring one of the following topics:

- increasing or decreasing U.S. defense spending
- restructuring forces to train for small-scale conflicts
- repealing or strengthening the War Powers Act

Allow each group to choose its topic, but make sure no groups pick the same one. They do not have to choose a side. You want them to investigate both sides of the issue. Each of the eleven students will do one of the following parts:

- the cover
- letters to the editor—both pro and con
- cartoons—both pro and con
- quotations by famous people
- a persuasive editorial
- an advertisement by a military contractor or group opposed to the military, or both
- a hard news article on the focus topic and appropriate pictures or drawings
- several maps, graphs, or charts related to the topic
- a biography section with information on several key people in the controversy
- a review of an appropriate song, book, play, or other relevant work of art—perhaps fictional
- a completed cost/benefit chart **(Worksheet 21)**

Students can volunteer for assignments or draw them out of a hat. Encourage students to choose something they can do well.

This activity will require access to appropriate current events material and time for students to research the issue and prepare their magazines. Work with students to develop writing skills. Show them examples of well-written stories, articles, editorials, and letters.

Give them a deadline and have the entire group put together their final production. Ask them to hand in their magazines and then spend some time discussing them. You may want to make copies for each student to keep or to display in the school library.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on defense. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Divide the class into four groups. Assign one of the following topics to each group:

- defense spending increase
- reducing commitment to defense of Western Europe and Japan
- development of the B-2 (Stealth) bomber
- restructuring forces to train for small–scale conflicts

Each group's task is to prepare brief (three to five minute) arguments both for and against each issue. Have them present these arguments to the class. Tell the class they will secretly vote on each issue at the end of each group's presentation. No class discussion will be allowed until all the ballots are in, since judgments and criticisms could affect student voting.

Students will then vote with paper ballots. The votes will be tallied and listed on the board so students can see how their class voted on the issues without peer pressure.

The teacher may need to help the groups prepare their oral arguments to assure a balance of views for each side. Once the votes are tallied, have students discuss the results on each issue. Do any of the results surprise them? Do they think the results would be different if the voting had not been confidential? Why or why not?

2. Students should take on the role of a presidential candidate. Have them prepare a speech to give on the campaign trail in which they address three defense-related issues:

- use of force in other nations
- reducing commitment to defense of Western Europe and Japan
- restructuring forces to train for small-scale conflicts

Have students write a rough draft of their speech. Select the best three or four from the class for polishing and oral presentation.

3. Have students interview at least five friends concerning their opinions about serving in the military. They might ask about mandatory service, voluntary service, college scholarships, and retirement benefits. Ask them to write a news article titled "Students Offer Opinions about the Military" based on what they found out in their interviews and in their readings in *Current Issues* and other sources. The goal is to incorporate fact and opinion in one article. The most thorough and well-written articles can be submitted to the school newspaper.

As an alternative to or in conjunction with student interviews, students may call their local recruiting offices and do some fact finding on topics such as recruitment quotas, starting salaries, obligations of enlistees, and rates of reenlistment. These should then be written into a news article that also can be submitted to the school newspaper.

Central America

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Explain salient problems in Central America.
2. Examine causes of social unrest in Central America.
3. Evaluate historic U.S. policies in Central America and explain their effect on present policies.
4. Discuss current U.S. military, political, and economic policies in Central America.
5. Describe recent changes in Nicaragua and Panama.

Terms and Concepts

- Alliance for Progress
- Oscar Arias Sanchez
- Caribbean Basin Initiative
- Fidel Castro
- Violeta Chamorro
- *contras*
- death squads
- Guillermo Endara
- Good Neighbor Policy
- Iran/*contra* affair
- Monroe Doctrine
- Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA)
- Manuel Noriega
- Daniel Ortega
- Reagan doctrine
- Sandinistas

Activities

1. Provide students with an outline map of Central America and ask them to identify and write one sentence describing something unique about each country. Then, discuss which Central American countries receive U.S. military or other assistance and how much help they receive. Discuss why they think the United States has spent so much money in Central America. How has U.S. aid affected the region? Would they see any evidence of U.S. influence if they visited Central America?

Have students read "Central America" in *Current Issues* and work in pairs to develop questions they would like to have answered while studying the unit. Share the questions with the class. Finally, ask students to consider all the information examined thus far and offer some reasons why they should study about Central America.

2. After students have read "Background," divide them into groups of seven with each student assigned to one of the countries discussed on those pages. Together, students should share information about their assigned country and complete **Worksheet 22.** Urge groups to focus their discussion on the commonality of problems that cut across national boundaries in the region, and to identify the causes of the social and political instability in Central America. They should talk about how difficult it is for the United States or anyone else to succeed in bringing tranquility and prosperity to the region.

Conclude the activity by bringing the whole class together and leading a discussion based on students' findings. What changes have taken place in the area in the past year? What accounts for those changes? What role has the United States played? How have the national interests of the United States been affected?

3. Have students work in pairs. Explain that both are journalists, but one will be writing for a U.S. newspaper while the other will be writing for a Central American newspaper. Students should read "Current Issues" in the chapter, and then write an article describing U.S. policy in Central America and how it has influenced the region. They should describe how people in the region feel about the United States and why they feel that way.

After students have handed in their articles, read each pair of articles to the whole class. Do not identify the writers. Briefly discuss each article. Focus discussion on the frame of reference of each writer. What is a frame of reference? How can it affect a person's viewpoint? Discuss reasons why differing frames of reference may cause misunderstanding on both sides. Also discuss the degree to which past and current U.S. policies have been successful and what factors were responsible for their success or failure. Urge students to read all they can about Central America to identify what kinds of information would be helpful and what kinds of resources might have such information.

4. Tell students that after investing billions of dollars in the region during the past fifteen years, the United States seems unable to bring tranquility and prosperity to Central America. Therefore, the president has launched a full scale review of U.S. policy in the area in an effort to achieve American objectives more effectively. Your students, being long-term Central American experts at the State Department, have been asked by the president to evaluate several policies. Divide the class into six groups and assign each group either a pro or a con position on one of the following issues:

- The United States should emphasize military over economic aid to Central America.
- The United States has the right to intervene in Central America.
- The United States should continue providing aid to the government of El Salvador.

Students should research their issue and draw up a group policy statement with recommendations to the president. To prepare properly for this assignment, students will require access to a variety of current issues materials. Ask them to identify additional information that they would like to have to state their positions adequately. Where can they locate such information?

After your students have prepared their policy statement, each group should appear before the class and have a spokesperson read its paper. Tell the groups that they are to make a forceful presentation of their assigned position, but emphasize that later they will get a chance to share what they personally believe. Have the pro and con groups for each issue present their positions and let the rest of the class identify the best arguments on each side. What evidence did they use to support their arguments?

Conclude with a summary discussion where students can express their personal thoughts on each issue. How do they feel about U.S. intervention in other nations? Would they impose any limits on U.S. actions? Which past U.S. actions do they think were appropriate and which were inappropriate?

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Central America. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Working in small groups, have students develop a Bill of Rights for the World. Compare students' work to the *U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Most libraries will have this document or it can be obtained from the United Nations. Have students consider if violations of international human rights should allow a well-meaning country to intervene. For example, would corruption and abuses in Chicago give Canada—as a democratic and basically fair-minded nation—the right or responsibility to invade Illinois with the noble aim of ridding it of corruption? Why or why not? Under what circumstances—if ever—should nations intervene in the internal affairs of other nations?

2. Divide the class into four groups representing the current governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Panama. Have each group reread the information presented on its country and prepare to answer questions about its nation's foreign policy, particularly its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Ask each group to select a representative to serve on a Central America panel. Representatives should be seated in front of the class with name plates to identify the four nations. Meanwhile, the remaining group members should prepare three to four questions to pose to their country's representative based on their earlier discussion.

As panel members answer questions from their respective groups, others in the class should jot down questions they wish to ask that nation. If the panel members cannot answer the questions from the class, members of that nation should advise them. Follow-up questions should be encouraged.

3. Tell students to prepare two hypothetical "pen-pal" letters from two members of the same family living in the Central American country of the students' choice. One letter is from a grandparent who remembers past events of his or her country; the other is from a teenage grandchild, who grew up under the nation's present government. Encourage students to take on the roles of these two individuals as they write the letters.

How do the grandparent and teenager react to the current turmoil in Central America? How do they feel about U.S. involvement there? What are their views on the Soviet Union? How do they feel about their civil liberties and freedoms? What are their economic conditions and their standard of living? All in all, how might they react to writing to an American citizen?

The Middle East

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Explain the origins and evolution of the current problems in the Middle East.
2. Explain the strategic importance of the Middle East.
3. Evaluate U.S. policy in the Middle East.
4. Develop and evaluate proposals for peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Terms and Concepts

- Yasir Arafat
- Balfour Declaration
- Camp David Accords
- Holocaust
- King Hussein
- Ayatollah Khomeini
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- Shi'ite Moslems
- U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338
- West Bank
- Zionism

Activities

1. On the board, list all Middle East countries and the Palestinians. Then, ask students to write a paragraph describing something they know about each one. In all likelihood, students will be able to write little about many of them, but assure them that this does not concern you that at this time. Have students hand in their paragraphs and then discuss them, pointing out inaccuracies. Using this activity and reading "Background" in *Current Issues*, students should generate questions that they would like to see addressed. Tell them to keep their questions nearby for use throughout the study of the unit.

2. Give students a copy of the following scenarios or write them on the board and ask them to describe how such events might affect them and their families.

- Syria attacks Israel and all oil-producing nations of the Middle East announce an oil embargo against the United States and any other nation supporting Israel.
- Syria, facing defeat, calls upon the Soviet Union for additional military aid. Israeli planes shoot down a Soviet transport and the Soviets announce that they will attack any planes supplying Israel.
- A terrorist group from Lebanon announces that it will launch a series of bomb attacks against domestic airline flights in the United States.
- Following the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, civil war breaks out in Iran. The Soviet Union sends troops across its border with Iran in an effort to place a pro-Soviet leader in power and ensure access to Iran's oil supplies.
- A surprise invasion by Syria and other Arab nations endangers Israel's survival. Americans pressure the president to send U.S. troops to Israel to protect American citizens and interests there.
- Israel successfully tests a nuclear weapon and then announces that it is annexing southern Lebanon and expects Syria to pull its troops out of the rest of Lebanon.

Discuss students' responses and the possible impact of such events. Ask students to explain why events in the Middle East should be of any concern to them.

3. Assign each student to one of the "major actors" under "Background" in *Current Issues*. Students should read about their actor and identify one piece of new information about that actor that they feel is particularly important. Encourage them to seek information that not everyone knows. Students should write a sentence stating who they are representing and what their information is, and then give it to the teacher. Allow each student one minute to share his or her piece of information with the rest of the class.

While students are making their presentations, organize their information according to the order of actors in *Current Issues*. After students have finished their presentations, convert their information into questions and use the questions as a basis for a class discussion. Ask as many of the questions as possible and try to spend some time considering each actor. Respond to students' questions. After each question has been addressed, ask the author to justify the importance of his or her selection.

4. Tell the class that they are a group of Middle East experts employed by the U.S. Department of State. The Bush administration has decided that the risk of accidental war involving the superpowers and the continuing threat of terrorism are so great that the United States must launch a new effort to bring peace to the region. Divide students into groups of eight with each person in the group representing one of the following interested parties: Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the PLO, Palestinians who reject PLO leadership, the Soviet Union, Syria, and the United States.

Students should read *Current Issues* and use other sources to complete **Worksheet 23** first. To represent accurately the views of the various interest groups students will need time and access to a range of resources on the topic. After individuals have gathered sufficient information to represent their interest group adequately, the groups should meet to devise a peace plan that they feel is fair to all parties and has some hope of being accepted by the major actors. Since it is unlikely that everyone will agree, the students must compromise and try to reduce the opposition. As part of its peace plan, each group must make recommendations about the following:

- The United States should support an independent Palestinian state.
- The United States should insist that Israel return occupied lands.
- The United States should support U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

The U.N. resolutions might be a good starting point for the meetings. A careful analysis of each group's response to those resolutions may serve to lay the foundation for their peace plan. Because of the constantly changing positions of the interested parties, it is critical that students examine not only background information, but current resources as well. Suggest available resources and ask students where they think they might find them.

When each group has what it feels is an acceptable plan for bringing peace to the region, it should present its plan to the class. You may want to invite representatives of various interest groups to the presentations. If possible try to be balanced and invite representatives of differing perspectives to critique students' work.

Conclude by discussing the problems and demands of each group. Discuss the problems for U.S. policymakers presented by the situation in the Middle East. Ask students about compromise and the difficulties they had in agreeing on a plan in their group. Relate those difficulties to the real world.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the Middle East. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Post a large map of the Middle East and use red yarn to make lines between countries with hostile relationships—Syria and Israel, Iran and Iraq, and so forth. Then, use green yarn to connect Soviet allies to a point above the map representing the Soviet Union, and yellow yarn to connect U.S. allies to a point left of the map representing the United States. Attach to each piece of yarn a tag indicating how long the conflict or alliance has been in effect. Discuss the map. What inferences might students draw from the map? Why are the United States and Soviet Union interested in this area? Consider both location and resources.

2. Have students cite specific examples of how each of the following factors has contributed to a lack of peace in the Middle East:

- religion
- national identity
- revenge
- paranoia
- racial hatred
- interference from outside nations
- oil resources

Ask students to select two of their examples and hypothesize ways that peace might be achieved if those factors could either be limited or used to advantage. Does it seem realistic that peace will be achieved in the Middle East?

3. Tell students to divide a piece of notebook paper into two columns. Ask them to list the dangers of involvement by the superpowers—United States and Soviet Union—in the Middle East on one side and the advantages of superpower involvement on the other. Have students complete the following sentence on the back of the page with their own opinion: "When it comes to involvement in the Middle East, the superpowers should ___________."

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International Trade

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Examine the interdependence of the U.S. and world economies.
2. Discuss reasons for the U.S. trade deficit.
3. Explain cause and effect relationships between the federal budget deficit, the trade deficit, and productivity.
4. Evaluate U.S. policy options to reduce the trade deficit by increasing trade barriers, reducing the value of the dollar, and increasing productivity.

Terms and Concepts

- comparative advantage
- European Community (EC)
- exchange rate
- floating exchange rate
- free trade
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- productivity
- protectionism
- quotas
- sunrise industries
- tariffs
- Trade Act of 1988
- trade deficit
- trade war
- U.S.-Canada Trade Pact

Activities

1. Divide the class into groups of three. Each group member will be responsible for completing one section of **Worksheet 24.** When group members have completed their tasks, they should meet and share their conclusions.

After the groups have finished, discuss the worksheet with the entire class. Then write the following two topics on the board and have students brainstorm the topics. Write their comments under each one.

- causes of the U.S. trade imbalance
- impact of the trade deficit on students

As students progress through this unit, ask them to refer periodically to the two lists. Which items seem to be on target? Which ones are good guesses, but do not seem to be supported by facts?

2. Remind students that this activity requires everyone in the class to help everyone else learn. Have students read "Background" in *Current Issues* and work in pairs to complete **Worksheet 25.** Students should complete the worksheet by alternating information under each head. They should then share their information with their partner. The student listening should try to add one additional fact that his or her partner missed.

Use the worksheet as a guide for a class discussion examining the costs and benefits of international trade and protectionism, and the evolution of U.S. trade issues and problems. Pay particular attention to the concept of comparative advantage. After students understand the concept, ask them to identify what conditions or resources may give the United States a comparative advantage. In what areas does Japan have a comparative advantage? What factors create such advantages? What are the implications of comparative advantage for some endangered U.S. industries?

3. Inform students that they have just been appointed to the president's Council of Economic Advisors. The president has warned them that the continuing high trade deficit threatens the economic well-being of the nation. Jobs are being lost, tax revenues are decreasing, and the economy is being threatened. Students are to find the best solution. The president has identified four possible routes for addressing the problem. However, he does not want them to act as an advocate for any particular one. Every students' job is to investigate the pros and cons, and report the costs and benefits of each approach. They will report their findings to the president and the rest of the class. Students should describe both the strengths and weaknesses of the approach they studied. Divide the class into four groups, each investigating one of the following:

- balancing the federal budget
- instituting protectionist measures
- intervening in currency markets to reduce the value of the dollar
- helping U.S. industry increase productivity

Each group should divide in half with one half looking for strengths of the approach and the other half looking for weaknesses. Remind students that the purpose is not to convince other group members that their position is the right one, but simply to gather as much information as possible to present to the class. They should recommend specific policies—for example, how the government will help industry increase its productivity—and evaluate the usefulness of the policy. To help with this project, students should complete **Worksheet 26.**

After all groups have had sufficient time to research their topic, they should share their findings with the class. Lead a class discussion of the value of each approach. Ask the class as a group to attempt to arrive at a consensus for dealing with the trade deficit.

Conclude by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of students' suggestions. What were the most important lessons of the unit for them?

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on international trade. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The following activity is designed to enhance students' knowledge of protectionism. Divide students into eight groups, each representing the special interests of one of the following nations:

- Brazil
- China
- Ethiopia
- Great Britain
- Japan
- Pakistan
- Soviet Union
- United States

Have each group research and then present to the U.S. president (the teacher) arguments about the effects of protectionist policies. The president will then question each group and probe for details. Be certain each group clearly states its viewpoint and explains its reasons for choosing such a viewpoint.

Tell each group to explain its comparative advantage in trade and the advantages and disadvantages of government intervention in trade. If time allows, explore the effects on the world market of the exchange rate of the dollar and interest rates.

2. Have students choose one of the following activities:

a. President Bush is a strong supporter of free trade. Write a letter to the president stating why they feel free trade is good or bad for American industry and if he should continue or change his present trade policy. Students may wish to send their letters to the president after they are evaluated by the teacher.

b. Research in depth the trade policies of U.S. trade rivals, especially Japan and the European Community. If time allows, have students share their research with the rest of the class.

3. Have students use the yellow pages or brainstorm various businesses and industries in your community that are affected in any way by international trade. Identify those that are most affected. Invite several of those businesses to send representatives to your class to respond to questions that students have prepared ahead of time, and to be part of a panel discussion on the following issues or others suggested by students:

- How does international trade influence your business?
- What do you think the long-term impact of the trade deficit will be?

Western Europe

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Explain the evolution of U.S.-Western Europe political, economic, and military relations since World War II.
2. Relate the concept of interdependence to U.S.-Western Europe relations.
3. Evaluate U.S. military and trade policies in Western Europe.
4. Discuss what effect German unification and changes in Eastern Europe may have on U.S.-European relations.

Terms and Concepts

- European Community (EC)
- Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)
- Marshall Plan
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- protectionism
- tariffs
- trade war
- Warsaw Pact

Activities

1. Ask students the following questions:

- To which continent do most Americans trace their ancestry?
- What region of the world is the second largest trading partner of the United States?
- Where was the focus of World War I and much of World War II?
- Where are America's strongest military allies located?

Use this brief survey to begin discussion about the importance of Europe to the United States. Have students read "Background" in *Current Issues* to identify the issues to be addressed in the chapter. As they read, have them consider how political, economic, and military changes between the United States and Western Europe might influence their lives. Finally, ask them to make a list of questions they want to have answered as they study this unit.

2. As students read *Current Issues* and refer to other additional resources, have them complete a timeline of major events using **Worksheet 27.** After completing the worksheet, students should assume the role of European journalists visiting the United States. They have been asked by a major American television network to participate in a series called "World in Review" that will focus on U.S.-Western Europe relations. An important aspect of this program will be to examine the interdependence of the United States and Western Europe.

Divide the class into several groups of workable size. Each group should be large enough to prepare and participate in the telecast, but small enough so every member has a duty. A brief overview of U.S.-Western Europe relations since World War II will introduce the first part of the program. Students are to prepare the script for this telecast. Urge them to use information gathered on Worksheet 27.

After presenting the overview, the group should conduct a panel discussion on current and future relations between the United States and Western Europe. It should select a moderator to keep the discussion moving and prepare questions to ask panel members. Each group should prepare and present its telecast separately. Allow the rest of the class members to act as a studio audience that can pose additional questions to the panel.

Conclude this activity by asking students how helpful it was to have all of the major events and their impacts summarized on the worksheet. Discuss the benefits of categorizing and organizing information before trying to work with it.

3. Tell the students that they all have just been appointed secretary of state and that their number one assignment from the president is to "smooth out relations with Western Europe." Specifically, the president wants them to develop a policy statement addressing the following issues:

- What should be the U.S. policy on maintaining and paying for U.S. troops in Europe? Should it reduce or increase the number of troops there?
- What economic policies should the United States adopt for this region? Should it adopt more protectionist policies? What might be the consequences of such policies? They should consider what may happen when all tariff barriers within the European Community are dropped in 1992.
- How should the United States respond to the reunification of East and West Germany? What effect might U.S. policy toward reunification have on other European countries? What might be the effect on NATO?

Students can prepare their policy statements by working in groups of three. Each person should take one of three focus areas, gather information, and offer tentative suggestions to the other two in the group. Information must be collected from all available current events resources to respond adequately to the president's assignment. Ask each student to hand in a policy statement, reflecting the work of his or her group. However, before asking for their papers, lead a discussion addressing each of the three areas. Sort out conflicting recommendations and try to find out what prompted students to make certain recommendations.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Western Europe. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Western Europe is an area filled with conflict, compromise, and interdependency. Tell students to read the *Current Issues* chapter as well as other sources on this area. In the following class discussion, ask students to explain how the nations of Western Europe are interconnected:

- economically
- socially
- geographically
- politically

Display a large map or overhead projection of the region to supplement the discussion.

Then, ask students to come up with four or five areas of conflict or compromise that they feel are the most important to the future of Western Europe and the world. Write their responses on the board. From this list, have them write a paragraph about why they feel their choices are so crucial to the future. These paragraphs can be shared orally with the class. Conclude this activity by asking students what the main items on their agenda would be if they were scheduling a summit talk for next winter.

2. For this activity, have students work in pairs. One member of each pair will represent the Western Europe perspective, the other will represent the U.S. perspective. Give students approximately twenty minutes to meet with their partner privately to discuss the following policy issues from the Western Europe and U.S. perspectives:

- tight money policy in the United States
- restrictive European trade practices
- U.S. troops in Europe
- U.S. missiles in Europe

Now, have all the "Western Europeans" get together in one part of the room and all the "Americans" in the other. Tell both sides to select a secretary to record their "official" reaction to each policy issue. How has each issue affected them in the past? How will it affect them in the future? What pleases or angers them about these policies?

Have the two secretaries present their side's reactions to each issue to the entire class. Encourage other students to participate in the discussion by questioning the secretary or by elaborating on what the secretary is saying. This activity should enable students to see the validity of different points of view, and how this can contribute to the complexity of an issue.

3. Have students search magazines and newspapers for articles detailing conflicts between Western Europe and the United States regarding the issues discussed in the chapter, particularly differences involving other nations in the world. Do these articles confirm information presented in the chapter? If not, why do they think there is a discrepancy between the articles?

Have students place these clippings on paper, highlighting or underlining phrases that are keyed to these questions:

- What is the issue being discussed?
- How do the United States and the nations of Western Europe differ on this issue?
- Why is this issue being written about now?

Nuclear Proliferation

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Analyze the dangers posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
2. Apply knowledge of the historical development of proliferation issues.
3. Evaluate U.S. policy toward sales of nuclear materials and technology and conventional arms.
4. Develop and evaluate proposals for reducing the possibility of nuclear proliferation.

Terms and Concepts

- Atoms for Peace
- conventional arms
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- nuclear-free zone
- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968
- nuclear proliferation
- nuclear weapons club
- plutonium
- U.S. Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978

Activities

1. Tell students that you are going to conduct a poll that allows them to vote with their feet. Explain that you are going to read several statements. Students who strongly agree with the statement should line up on the far left side of the room. Students who strongly disagree should line up on the far right side of the room. Students who do not have a strong opinion either way should line up in the middle of the room.

Then read one of the following statements and allow time for students to move to a line. When the three lines have stabilized ask several students from each line to explain their position. Allow students to interact by questioning and responding to each other, but emphasize that they must calmly discuss the issues without degenerating into nonproductive dialogue. After polling the students and discussing each statement sufficiently, ask students in the middle if they now want to move one way or the other. Then, move on to the next statement. Remember, the purpose of this activity is not to conduct a debate, but rather to identify the range of student positions on the issues and to determine what students know about the topic.

Statements:

- Nuclear proliferation is a serious threat to world peace.
- The United States should sell nuclear materials and technology to any country willing to pay for them.
- The United States should stop selling nuclear materials and technology only if other countries also agree to stop such sales.
- The United States should completely stop sales of nuclear materials and technology regardless of what other countries do.

- The United States should increase conventional arms sales so that non-nuclear countries will have all the weapons they require and not feel the need for nuclear weapons.
- Citizens in the United States and other countries should take steps to discourage the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

After polling the students and discussing each statement, indicate that this unit will focus on all issues related to nuclear proliferation.

2. Have students read "Background" in *Current Issues*. Encourage them to read additional resources about nuclear weapons and attempts to control them. In addition, have them complete **Worksheet 28.** Use the worksheet as the basis for a class discussion about the effectiveness of agreements and other steps taken to ensure that nuclear weapons do not spread.

3. Organize a mock hearing of the U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Divide the students into equal groups representing the following countries:

- United States
- Soviet Union
- Iran
- Israel
- South Africa
- Japan
- Pakistan
- India

Have students read "Current Issues" and consult additional resources in order to develop a national policy statement reflecting their country's view about nuclear proliferation. Allow each group enough time to develop its policy. The students may add a few other statements but emphasize that their policy statement must address the following questions:

- Can and should nuclear proliferation be controlled?
- Should the United States and other countries halt the sale of technology and materials that can be used to make nuclear weapons?
- Should the United States and other countries sell more conventional arms to non-nuclear nations in the hope that those nations will not try to develop nuclear weapons?

When the groups are prepared, conduct the hearing. Each country should read its policy statement. The presiding officer—either yourself or a student volunteer—should allow other countries to ask questions after the statements have been read.

The purpose of the hearing is not to reach a consensus, but to heighten student awareness of the issue. After the hearing is finished, ask students to think carefully about the issues raised and to take a personal position on them. How does their personal position on nuclear proliferation compare to that of their group? What do they think the United States should do and why? Ask students to discuss from their own perspective the key topics that emerged from the hearing.

To conclude the activity, discuss the problems of nuclear proliferation. Why are international agreements so hard to obtain and enforce? Remind students that the United States is a key player in this arena and that, as U.S. citizens, they can influence the actions of their government. Brainstorm ways to persuade the government to act in a way that students feel is appropriate.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on nuclear proliferation. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. To help students understand the power and devastation caused by a nuclear weapon, and thus the seriousness of nuclear proliferation, have them participate in the following activity.

Ask students to read one factual and one personal account of the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan during World War II. These can be from newspapers, newsmagazines, or books. You may wish to ask the school librarian to recommend good sources, or you may have your own choices to recommend to students. Two excellent books are *Hiroshima* by John Hersey and *Enola Gay* by Paul Tibbetts.

Divide the class into groups of four to five students. Each group should discuss its feelings about these accounts, listing three or four specific reactions, which it will later share in a class discussion.

Next, chronologically trace developments in nuclear proliferation since 1945. Refer students to the section, "Background: The Spread of Nuclear Weapons." As they quickly reread this section, have them outline the major developments. In a class discussion, chronologically list these developments on the board with a brief description of each event. Be certain to address the following question: Why is the study of the background of nuclear proliferation necessary to future progress in nuclear nonproliferation?

2. The spread of nuclear weapons to unstable or unpredictable nations is a serious concern. Urging students to use *Current Issues* and other sources of information, have them respond to the following statement in a take-home essay:

> If nuclear weapons were to become as widespread as predicted, the traditional international order of nations would be upset.

What does this statement mean? How would this happen, in specific ways? What would be the implications to world order and peace if this happened? Project the long-range effects of this occurrence. Can it be prevented? If so, how?

3. The following activities will meet the needs of those students who are very interested in this issue.

a. Design a poster communicating one aspect of the nuclear weaponry issue for display in school.

b. Organize a nuclear awareness day at school. They can hand out leaflets, pictures, poems, or essays on nuclear war, or set up an information booth in the hall. Your class may even want to schedule guest speakers for a school assembly or show a nuclear awareness film.

c. Design a logo for a t-shirt on the issue of nuclear nonproliferation.

d. Conduct research and give an oral presentation to the class on one or more of the following options that can limit or continue the arms race:

- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- bilateral and unilateral disarmament
- peace through strength
- bilateral freeze
- no first use

World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Describe and distinguish between industrialized nations and developing nations.
2. Explain the scope and importance of world poverty issues.
3. Assess personal and national responsibility for addressing world poverty issues.
4. Evaluate U.S. policy options regarding recipients and kinds of foreign aid.

Activities

1. Give students a copy of **Worksheet 29** and ask them to read and react to each item. Then, lead a discussion based on the worksheet. What are students' reactions to each fact? During the study of the unit, have students write an imaginary diary describing several days in the life of someone their age in a developing country. Ask them to share their diaries on the last day of the unit study.

2. Point out to students that most of the world's poorest nations are south of the Tropic of Cancer. Display a world map and discuss why Americans and their government should have any interest in Third World development. Pay particular attention to Latin America. In addition to humanitarian concerns, discuss national security and economic security as factors in U.S. foreign aid policies. Students should consider how terrorism might become a more serious problem as Third World countries struggle to develop. How might this influence them? Ask students to read the chapter in *Current Issues* and consider the class discussions before they jot down questions they would like to have answered in this unit. Share their questions with the class and decide which concerns may be common.

3. Have students read "World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid" in *Current Issues* with the task of identifying the most important issues and related facts. Divide students into groups of three to four and ask each group to develop six questions it believes focus on essential information. Remind the groups that the idea is not to find obscure information to trick classmates but to identify items that they feel are critical to understanding the major issues in this unit.

Terms and Concepts

- Agency for International Development (AID)
- bilateral aid
- developing countries
- Economic Support Fund (ESF)
- Food for Peace program
- Fourth World
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- malnutrition
- multilateral aid
- New International Economic Order
- security assistance
- Third World
- World Bank

After all students are armed with several questions, divide the class in half with students from each side taking turns posing a question to students on the other side. If someone on the answering team gives the correct answer, that side receives a point. However, the answering team loses a point if it cannot answer the question. If you feel that a question is trivial or is focused on obscure information, you may disqualify the question and penalize the questioning team one point. Warn students about asking trivial questions. If, however, the answering team correctly answers a trivial question, it receives two points.

Keep the game going until everyone has had a chance to ask a question. Total the points at the end to determine the winning team.

4. Urge students to use a variety of resources to examine U.S. foreign aid policies and Third World development. Divide the class in half. One half represents U.S. State Department officials, members of the military, and congressional researchers. The other half represents government officials from Bangladesh, Brazil, Chad, Egypt, Haiti, Kenya, Libya, and Peru. Divide each half into three subgroups and assign each subgroup one of the following policy statements:

- The United States should reduce foreign aid.
- Political concerns should determine who receives U.S. aid.
- The United States should reduce aid to the Third World and give more aid to the new democracies in Eastern Europe.

The group representing U.S. officials should consider the following questions as it analyzes its policy statement:

- What are the costs and benefits of this policy?
- How will U.S. citizens view this policy?
- What conditions do you want to impose for receiving aid?
- Should foreign aid decisions be based on the best interest of the United States or of the whole world?
- After deciding your position, what are the strongest pieces of evidence you can find to support it?

Representatives of Third World countries should consider the following questions as they analyze their policy statement:

- Is it reasonable to expect that countries that have poverty problems within their own borders should expend their resources to help you?
- What arguments can you offer to counter U.S. policy decisions that may not be in your best interest?
- How would you respond to criticisms that some of the problems you face are a result of a social structure that allows a few people to get most of the wealth and that aid programs simply help those who do not need it?
- Since it is unlikely that U.S. aid will be distributed evenly, what criteria do you suggest for determining who receives it?

Everyone must complete **Worksheet 30.** Give students sufficient time to research their topics and prepare position statements with supporting evidence. Ask each group to state its position and then be prepared to answer questions from the other side.

After each group has presented and supported its position and responded to questions, conduct a general class discussion. How do students personally feel about the issues? Is there any consensus? Have any changed their minds?

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on poverty and foreign aid. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Divide students into groups of four to six. This activity should be done in two parts, possibly over two days. The purpose is to force students to make some decisions about U.S. foreign aid.

a. Using a world map, the *Current Issues* chapter, newspapers, and newsmagazines, have students collectively compile a list of nations they feel should receive foreign aid from the United States. Particular attention should be paid to countries in Africa, Latin America, Southern Asia, and the Middle East.

Once the group agrees on a list, ask students to place an (N) before those countries where foreign aid is based upon need, a (P) where it is based upon politics, or an (NP) if both apply.

b. Tell the groups they have a total of one hundred points to assign as U.S. foreign aid money. Have them take their list of countries and decide how many points should be spent for each country. All the points should be used.

Have the groups share their choices with the other groups. Write all the nations selected on the board, and average the number of points each group "spent" on each country. In this way, arrive at a class ranking for foreign aid recommendations. Compare the students' list to actual U.S. foreign aid expenditures, which are detailed in the chart in *Current Issues*.

2. This research activity is designed to encourage students to find facts and suggest solutions regarding the issues introduced in the *Current Issues* chapter. Have all students select one of the following problems faced by developing countries (or another equally appropriate issue). Students should read at least five other resources searching for ways to alleviate the problem they choose.

- overpopulation
- hunger and malnutrition
- infant mortality
- short life expectancy
- illiteracy

Once the information is collected, have students with similar topics plan and present a panel discussion on their findings. Panel members should be careful to prevent duplication when organizing their presentation. They may want to augment their presentation by preparing a handout summarizing their findings for the class.

3. Tell students to make two columns on their paper—one headed "Industrialized Countries," the other "Developing Countries." In fifteen to twenty minutes, have them list as many characteristics of each group as they can. When time is up, ask them to cross out any duplication they may have in both columns. Then, have them circle five characteristics from each column that they feel best distinguish industrialized nations from developing nations.

Using these characteristics as a guide, have students write brief definitions of the terms "industrialized country" and "developing country."

South Africa

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Explain the origins and practice of apartheid.
2. Explain and evaluate U.S. policy toward South Africa.
3. Evaluate the results of U.S. and international efforts to bring about reform in South Africa.
4. Discuss recent reforms made by the South African government.

Terms and Concepts

- African National Congress (ANC)
- Afrikaners
- apartheid
- constructive engagement
- cooperative coexistence
- divestment
- economic sanctions
- homelands policy
- Inkatha
- Nelson Mandela
- Progressive Federal Party
- tokenism
- Desmond Tutu
- United Democratic Front

Activities

1. To help students understand the apartheid experience from both a black African and white African perspective, you might consider beginning this unit by changing class procedures as follows. Arbitrarily identify a group—left-handed students are a good choice because they are a minority—and allow them special privileges . You might give them easier assignments, special seating arrangements, preferential treatment in interactions with other students, and special rewards such as being allowed to eat candy or chew gum in class. Make your actions as obvious as possible. Maintain this differential treatment for at least one class period and possibly for several days without justifying your actions.

Then, as you sense that the majority is becoming dissatisfied, explain your motives. Tell them that you have been simulating an unequal society similar to life under apartheid. Ask students in both groups how they felt. Discuss how people might respond when severely restricted over a long period of time. Suggest to students that they begin collecting information about South Africa to use in other activities for this unit.

You may wish to inform your school administrators before beginning this activity, because until its purpose is clear, students may complain. Your administrators should know that the educational objective of this activity is to help students gain a personal understanding of the nature and effects of discrimination and the emotions that discrimination can generate.

2. List the following names and terms on the board by placing each at the top of a column:

- Afrikaners
- apartheid
- divestment
- African National Congress
- Nelson Mandela
- Desmond Tutu

Ask students to brainstorm other names and terms that this list brings to mind. Write students' responses on the board in the appropriate columns. Question them about their responses and press them for more until they cannot think of any others.

This brainstorming session will give you a general idea about what students do and do not know about South Africa. Ask them to develop a list of questions that they would like to have answered. Duplicate their questions and distribute them to the class to use in future class discussions.

3. Provide students with a map of South Africa showing its resources and location. Have them list South Africa's resources and why the United States might be interested in them. Also, ask them to pay attention to South Africa's location and write a paragraph explaining why the United States would want a friendly nation in that region.

Then, lead a discussion based on the map. Why is South Africa's location important for U.S. oil exports from the Middle East? Emphasize U.S. desire to limit Soviet influence in southern Africa—mention Angola, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. What is the attitude of the South African government toward the Soviet Union?

4. Begin this activity by encouraging students to read *Current Issues* and any other sources of information they can find about South Africa. Then, divide the class into six groups of equal size and tell them that the secretary general of the United Nations has appointed all of them to be research assistants for a special project. The United Nations wants to know more about the racial policies in South Africa. Explain that the United Nations needs not only to understand the current situation, but to have a sense of how the situation has developed.

All students should complete **Worksheet 31** and discuss their findings with the rest of their group. When the groups have completed their research, ask each group to report its findings. Each group can decide how it wants to present its report. Encourage other students to question each group after it finishes its report.

Conclude this activity by leading a discussion with the class. Discuss the degree to which recent changes may alter the policy of apartheid. Can the South African government move fast enough to avoid outbreaks of violence or even civil war? Because the United States can have a powerful influence in international affairs, part of the task for students includes an examination of U.S. interests and actions in this part of the world. As the United States continues a relatively cautious policy toward South Africa, find out students' opinions about U.S. prestige and credibility in the region.

5. As a result of the class's preliminary report to the United Nations, the secretary general, responding to a coalition of black African nations, is holding a hearing to examine U.S. policy toward South Africa. Assign each group from the previous activity either the pro side or con side of each of the following propositions:

- Quiet diplomacy is the best way to change South African policies.
- The U.S. should enact more severe economic sanctions against South Africa.
- American businesses should not do business in South Africa.

Students should use the information they have already gathered and continue to look for more sources. In locations where foreign students and visitors are numerous, you might remind your students that such individuals can be helpful sources of information. Have the groups prepare a grid showing costs and benefits of the policies they advocate for the United States, for white South Africans, and for black South Africans. They can use these grids to back their positions on the issues.

Have both sides present their positions before the entire class. Allow the rest of the students to question the groups and press them for the evidence on which they are basing their positions. Encourage student-to-student interaction by asking speakers to respond to comments made by previous speakers before presenting their own comments.

After students have presented both sides of each of the three issues, conclude with a class discussion. Emphasize to students that they no longer have to speak as advocates for their group, but are now free to express individual opinions. Discuss how economics and national security may clash with human rights. Find out what they think U.S. policies should be toward South Africa.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on South Africa. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Print each of the following statements on separate sheets of paper, and tape them on the classroom walls.

- South Africa's domestic policies are its own business, and the rest of the world should stay out.
- South Africa is moving toward change and needs more time and patience from the world community.
- Stronger action from the United States and other countries is needed to change South Africa.
- Until South Africa changes, the United States and other nations should not support it—publicly or privately—under any conditions.
- No matter what happens, South Africa won't change so other nations should give up trying.

Tell students to stand near the statement they most agree with. After each group chooses a representative, have the groups spend five to ten minutes discussing why they chose that position. Then each representative should present his or her group's perspective. Allow time for students to ask questions and respond to the positions of others.

2. Ask students to assume the role of an American executive in South Africa who has been asked to recommend whether his or her company should continue doing business in South Africa or pull out because of that nation's domestic and international policies. The company's business in South Africa is quite profitable.

In a short paper, have students write up the recommendations they would make to their company and the reasons for their decision. Students may wish to "fabricate" a business to which they can refer when writing their rationale.

3. Anti-apartheid protesters often demonstrate at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C., and lobby members of Congress for tougher economic sanctions against South Africa. Have students write a brief essay outlining their own opinions on the issue of South Africa. Ask them to respond to the following questions:

- Would you join a protest activity, or do you think that U.S. citizens should stay out of this conflict?
- Would you write a letter to your senators or representative in support of sanctions against South Africa, or would you say that the United States should not become involved in another country's domestic policies?
- If your parents had investments in South Africa, would you encourage them to withdraw them, or does it matter to you where they invest their money?

Japan

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Describe the evolution of Japanese-American relations since 1945.
2. Assess the factors contributing to Japan's economic development since 1945.
3. Evaluate U.S.-Japanese trade, investment, and defense policies.
4. Examine U.S. attitudes and perceptions about Japan.

Terms and Concepts

- burden-sharing
- capital
- Diet
- exchange rate
- foreign investments
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- Omnibus Trade Act of 1988
- productivity rate
- quota
- retaliation
- tariff
- trade barrier
- trade deficit
- trade war
- U.S.-Japan Mutual Treaty

Activities

1. Write "Japan" on the board and create a word network by asking students to respond with words and terms that "Japan" brings to mind. Leave enough room between early responses so that the list can be expanded. Draw lines connecting later responses to terms listed earlier. As students share their words, ask them to explain why they thought of that word.

After students have finished compiling the list, discuss their reaction to the word network. What does it say about American attitudes toward Japan? If their parents had the same assignment when they were high school students, would their list have been similar or different? In what ways? Why have attitudes changed? Based on the list of words and terms, discuss what students know, think they know, and would like to know about Japan. How might U.S.-Japanese relations influence them, their family, friends, community, country, and the world?

2. In *Current Issues,* have students examine the two sidebars: "Improving Trade with Japan" and "Jobs from Japan"; the four photos of Japanese consumers buying U.S. products in Japan, Japanese farmers protesting U.S. agricultural imports, a modern Japanese factory, and the General Motors-Toyota joint-venture factory in California; and the cartoon of two U.S. factory workers. Discuss each visual item briefly. Ask students to interpret each one. What is each trying to illustrate? What evidence supports their interpretations?

After discussing each of the seven items, ask students to work in pairs to organize the visuals logically using any criteria they develop. Give students a few minutes to decide how they are going to organize the visuals and then ask them to explain why they grouped them the way they did. Ask them to predict what might happen in both the United States and Japan if:

- the United States imposed high trade barriers against Japanese goods
- the Japanese agreed to allow any U.S. goods into Japan in any quantity

Write the two statements on the board and lead a discussion based on their predictions. Possible answers to the first statement include: increased Japanese trade barriers to U.S. goods; fewer dollars going to Japan, therefore fewer Japanese investments here; political support for the party or politicians who support limiting Japanese imports; higher consumer prices; some thriving U.S. industries; and so forth. Possible answers to the second statement include: more U.S. exports to Japan would create more jobs here; some Japanese businesses would be hurt and the Japanese government would be pressured to limit U.S. exports; lower trade deficit would lower interest rates; and so forth.

3. Give students five minutes to write three questions based on activities 1 and 2 that they would like to have answered about Japan or U.S.-Japanese relations. Collect their questions and divide them into three categories:

- questions that can be answered by reading the introduction and "Background" sections in the "Japan" chapter of *Current Issues*
- questions that can be answered by reading the "Current Issues" section of "Japan"
- questions that cannot be answered completely by information in *Current Issues* and require additional research

Add the three "Key Questions" from the "Japan" chapter to all three categories. Then, give students a copy of the questions for the first category and explain the concept of cause and effect. Once students grasp the concept, have them read the introduction and "Background" sections. Urge them to look for examples of cause and effect while they are looking for answers to the questions. Use the list of questions and examples of cause and effect as the basis for class discussion. Repeat the same procedure for the second category of questions.

Give students overnight to find the answers to the third category of questions. As background, explain that many Americans complain that the United States no longer holds a place of preeminence in the world. Ask students to consider why and to come to class prepared to comment on the validity of that feeling. Urge them to review *Current Issues* and history texts that describe world conditions in 1945 and to collect information comparing the U.S. economy in 1950 to 1990.

On the next day, ask students to discuss their answers to the questions in category 3 and explain why leaders in Japan and the United States need to be aware of cause and effect as they engage in trade negotiations. Discuss the factors that account for America's role following World War II as the most powerful military and economic nation. Is the United States really in decline or have other nations caught up? Is it reasonable to expect that the United States would be able to maintain its relative superiority of 1950? Why or why not?

4. Organize a roleplaying activity in which half your class represents U.S. diplomats and the other half represents Japanese diplomats about to engage in delicate trade negotiations. The roleplaying can be done on a one-to-one basis, or it could be done as a cooperative learning activity with groups of four or five students working together.

To help students develop the best arguments and find supporting evidence for their side, give them a copy of **Worksheet 32**. After they have completed the worksheet and discussed with their classmates the best way to proceed, they should develop a statement of their country's national needs and desires and what they are willing to exchange to have those needs and desires addressed by the other side. Remind them that both nations must be constantly aware of the domestic political repercussions of whatever action they take.

Group students either in pairs or teams representing both nations and proceed with the negotiations. Each diplomat should have adequate time to present his or her nation's views and negotiate an agreement. Then call the class back together and ask students to share their negotiated agreements and how they arrived at them. What did they think was their best argument and the best argument of the other side? Does the rest of the class think their agreement is realistic? Examine elements of the agreements on the basis of cause and effect. What will be the effect in both the United States and Japan? What will be the effect on world trade and the global economy? What did each nation learn about the other?

Finally, have students reverse roles and write a short description of U.S. trade issues from the perspective of the country they now represent. Lead a discussion asking:

- Should the United States retaliate against restrictive Japanese trade practices? Why or why not?
- Should the United States restrict Japanese investments in the United States? Why or why not?

5. Tell students that as a member of an advisory board to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff each of them has been asked to prepare a memo suggesting what direction U.S. defense policy toward Japan should take. They have been asked to weigh specifically the pros and cons of two approaches:

- maintaining current U.S. defense policy with little change
- significantly reducing U.S. defense expenditures for Japan while assuming that Japan can defend itself

To collect and organize information for this assignment, students should complete **Worksheet 33.** When they have finished writing their memos, have them share them with the rest of the class. Near the end of the discussion ask the class to identify any cause and effect arguments presented. Which arguments did they think were best? Why?

Enrichment Activities

1. Preface this activity by explaining that many Americans have come to perceive Japan as the biggest threat to U.S. security. Then, have the class design a survey to find out what people in their town think. The survey should be a list of ten short-answer questions that will gauge perceptions on:

- what trade and economic policies the U.S. government should adopt
- what actions the U.S. government should take regarding Japanese investments in the United States
- what Japan should do to make its trade policies more fair
- what both sides can do to be more fair
- what effect Japanese trade policies have on employment in the United States

When the survey is ready, ask students–either as individuals or in teams–to go out into the school and community and poll at least ten people. After several days, compile the responses and discuss what the results mean. Are there any clear trends in the community's attitudes? Do people in their community think Japan is a threat? Do they agree with current U.S. policies toward Japan? Were students surprised by the results?

2. Conduct a mock U.S. Senate committee hearing on U.S. economic policies toward Japan. Divide the class into nine groups representing:

- the Senate committee
- United Auto Workers of America
- Honda of America employees
- U.S. Farmers Alliance
- Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Union
- Japanese Auto Parts and Mechanics Association
- IBM Executives Association
- Zenith Electronics Corporation
- National Association of Manufacturers

Try to make the size of the groups as equal as possible. Once the groups are formed, have each develop a U.S. trade policy with Japan that they would be likely to favor. The Senate group should meet separately to prepare questions.

Each group should testify before the Senate committee and justify their positions. They can select one spokesperson or take turns speaking. After all the groups have testified, debrief by examining the best arguments and supporting evidence offered by each group. Finally, urge students to write letters to their senators and representative supporting specific trade policies based on this exercise.

3. Ask students to write a one-page essay predicting the effect in both the United States and Japan of a trade war. They should consider how it might influence them, their friends, family, community, the United States, and the world. Ask students to share their essays with the class. Discuss the points raised and ask them if any have changed their minds about U.S.-Japanese trade policies after this activity.

Unit Test Materials

Unit Test

The Federal Government

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. The president's advisers often have similar political views as the president.

_____ 2. There are fourteen cabinet offices, the newest being the Department of Veterans Affairs.

_____ 3. President Bush, like his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, has had the luxury of working with a friendly Congress controlled by the Republican Party.

_____ 4. Democrats and Republicans generally agree on which programs should be cut.

_____ 5. A president's appointee to the Supreme Court can be a powerful force for many years because justices serve for life.

_____ 6. President Reagan appointed three of the associate justices and the chief justice to the present Supreme Court.

_____ 7. The vice president can preside over Senate sessions and vote in case of a tie.

_____ 8. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is responsible for developing a budget that reflects the priorities of Congress.

_____ 9. For a federal program to operate, the president has to recommend it, and Congress has to authorize it.

_____ 10. Many federal expenditures are difficult to reduce.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Identify three members of the president's cabinet, and describe one important issue that each will face in the near future.

12. Explain what is meant by a "divided government" and tell what problems may occur because of it.

13. Identify two likely areas of conflict between the executive and legislative branches in determining the federal budget.

14. How did the Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, differ from the Court led by Chief Justice Warren Burger?

15. What is an authorization bill?

16. What is an appropriations bill?

17. What is the main provision of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill?

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The Economy

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

______ 1. Although the economy has grown substantially during most of the 1980s, the national debt has soared.

______ 2. A strong dollar helps the United States export more goods.

______ 3. During a recession unemployment decreases.

______ 4. President Bush believes that lowering the tax rate on capital gains would add to the budget deficit.

______ 5. Inflation is most damaging to people living on fixed incomes.

______ 6. During periods of high inflation, people are more inclined to save money.

______ 7. An increase in unemployment usually means an increase in tax income for the government.

______ 8. Recent increases in productivity in the United States are among the highest of any industrial nation.

______ 9. Payment on the national debt is the third largest component of the federal budget.

______ 10. Federal law now requires a balanced budget every year.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

a. The government should raise taxes to reduce the budget deficit.

b. The government should cut the trade deficit by decreasing the value of the dollar.

c. The government should lower the capital gains tax.

12. Explain the effect on the economy of an increase in the rate of productivity.

13. Explain how the U.S. economy is an example of economic global interdependence.

14. Who is most likely to be injured by inflation? Select one and explain your choice.

a. a retired couple living on social security and their savings
b. a young couple who just bought a house
c. a middle aged couple who own several apartments
d. a recent college graduate starting to pay off a college loan

15. List and explain two steps the government can take to control inflation.

a.

b.

16. How would a Keynesian economist propose to stop a recession?

17. How would a supply-side economist propose to stop a recession?

18. How can U.S. companies increase productivity?

19. Why have some people called the U.S. economy an "engine of growth" for the rest of the world?

20. Explain how a tax cut is supposed to generate more income for the government.

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Education

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

1. Local property tax-based funding for education often resulted in ____________________ educational opportunities between poor and wealthy districts.

2. Most ____________________ provide money to local districts in an effort to equalize the quality of education across districts.

3. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, schools were seen as a vehicle for social change. Two changes schools sought to achieve were ending ____________________ and wiping out ____________________ .

4. Including special students in regular classes is called ____________________ .

5. While efforts to raise academic standards may have raised test scores, they have also contributed to a high ____________________ rate.

6. Early efforts to integrate schools often depended on court-ordered ____________________ .

7. Recent federal policy has urged using ____________________ schools to achieve integration.

8. The greatest share of funding for public schools comes from the ____________________ level of government.

9. President ____________________, through his Great Society programs, proposed three new federal education programs.

10. In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education released its study of U.S. Education titled ______________ .

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. List one argument for and one argument against each of the following issues:

    a. Expanding the role of the federal government in education.

b. Continuing federal loans to college students.

c. Allowing parents to choose their children's schools.

12. Provide evidence supporting or contradicting the following statements:

    a. The educational reform movement of the 1980s was not directed at making major changes in American education, but rather reflected a belief that providing more of the same would solve the problems.

    b. The educational reform movement has given local districts increased control over their own programs.

    c. The past forty years have seen the federal government play an increasing role in public education.

13. Write a one-page essay agreeing or disagreeing with the following statements:

    a. The federal government should exercise a larger role in education.

    b. The federal government should discontinue student loans to college students.

    c. Parents should be allowed to choose the schools they want their children to attend.

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Unit Test

Civil Rights

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Most civil rights legislation has specifically included the rights of women.

_____ 2. *Brown* v. *Board of Education* declared that separate but equal was no longer constitutional.

_____ 3. *Roe* v. *Wade* was a Supreme Court case permitting abortions.

_____ 4. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 dealt primarily with voting issues.

_____ 5. The Twenty-fourth Amendment, passed in 1962, gave women the right to vote.

_____ 6. Suffragists are people who try to lead a life without pain or suffering.

_____ 7. There is still a large gap in measures of quality of life between minorities and white Americans.

_____ 8. The 1967 Age Discrimination Act was written to help teenagers secure jobs.

_____ 9. Schools are required to be accessible to students who cannot see or walk.

_____ 10. Affirmative action has been shown to result in more jobs for minorities than voluntary approaches.

Essay: Write one argument for and one argument against each of the following statements:

11. The federal government should relax affirmative action regulations.

12. The federal government should legalize abortion.

13. The federal government should support comparable worth.

14. The federal government should allow employers to test employees for drugs.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

15. What explanation besides discrimination might account for the differences in wages paid to males and females?

16. Some experts have argued that the history of civil rights in the United States is one of extending more rights to more people. Write an essay agreeing or disagreeing with this statement: The history of the United States has been one of gradual expansion of both the meaning of civil rights and the groups to which they are extended.

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Social Programs

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. The Depression of the 1930s led the federal government to develop a new system to aid the poor.

_____ 2. Since the New Deal, federal expenses for social programs have grown rapidly.

_____ 3. The New Deal stressed jobs and social insurance rather than straight relief.

_____ 4. The Great Society was an effort by President Reagan to provide a better life for all Americans.

_____ 5. COLAs are designed to help recipients of entitlement programs keep up with inflation.

_____ 6. President Reagan said that domestic spending was running out of control and he wanted to cut some funding for social programs.

_____ 7. Social security's costs will increase as more Americans retire.

_____ 8. Most AFDC payments go to families headed by single mothers.

_____ 9. The retirement age for workers eligible for social security is gradually being reduced from 67 to 65.

_____ 10. Minorities are less likely to live in poverty than other Americans.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

a. The federal government should provide more aid for the truly needy.

b. Social security benefits should be frozen.

c. The government should provide child care.

12. Which two presidents are most associated with the expansion of federally funded social programs?

13. Describe one frequent criticism of welfare programs.

14. Why has Congress been reluctant to cut social security benefits?

15. Why is budgeting for entitlement programs difficult?

16. Why would persons who are dependent on social programs be hurt by inflation if COLAs were eliminated?

17. Why will social security costs continue to rise?

18. Who would be most likely to oppose government-sponsored child care? Explain your answer.

a. a retired person drawing social security
b. a fifty-year-old worker
c. a single working mother

19. List and explain three recent reforms in AFDC.

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Health Care

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Medicare and Medicaid cover the costs of most medical expenses in the United States.

_____ 2. Health care costs have been rising faster than the overall rise in the cost of living.

_____ 3. Doctors must accept Medicare patients.

_____ 4. The cost of medical technology is one of the reasons for the rapid increase in health care costs.

_____ 5. Very little money is spent on preventive health care.

_____ 6. There is a cure for AIDS.

_____ 7. Malpractice suits have indirectly driven up the costs of medical care.

_____ 8. DRG is a new antibiotic.

_____ 9. The United States faces an AIDS epidemic that could cost billions of dollars for treating the terminally ill.

_____10. The development of new technologies has increased substantially the cost of health care.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Give two arguments supporting comprehensive health care funded by the federal government.

12. Give two arguments supporting comprehensive health care funded by the private sector.

13. List and explain the two parts of the Medicare program.

14. Describe how malpractice suits have affected the cost of medical care.

15. Provide three explanations explaining why health care costs are rising so rapidly.

16. Write a one-page essay describing and defending a plan for dealing with national health care needs in a cost-efficient manner.

17. Write two one-page essays agreeing or disagreeing with the following statements:

a. The government should become more involved in health care services.

b. Increased competition in health care is the best way to guarantee adequate care for all Americans at an affordable price.

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Unit Test

Immigration

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. More immigrants enter the United States legally than illegally.

_____ 2. The Japanese Exclusion Act marked the first time that the United States closed its doors to any group.

_____ 3. Most illegal immigrants to the United States have come from Latin America.

_____ 4. Quotas have generally favored immigrants from cultures already heavily represented in the United States.

_____ 5. The strength of the U.S. economy has been a strong force in attracting immigrants to the United States.

_____ 6. The Refugee Act of 1980 allows someone fleeing economic hardship to be admitted to the United States.

_____ 7. One argument against illegal aliens is that they drive wages up by competing unfairly for jobs.

_____ 8. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act granted some illegal aliens amnesty and allowed them to become citizens.

_____ 9. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act has made employers more cautious.

_____10. Americans of European descent will always be the majority group in the United States.

Essay: Write a complete answer for the following:

11. Critics of restrictive legislation say that the arguments used in the past against immigration were not true then and are not true today. Provide two arguments that such critics might make.

12. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

    a. The government should punish employers who hire illegal aliens.

    b. Economic refugees should be admitted to the United States.

    c. All immigrants should be required to speak English.

13. Restrictive legislation has often been motivated by prejudice. Describe one such example.

14. Why would a native-born American most likely have favored immigration quotas in 1900?

15. Mr. Smith owns an apple orchard in the state of Washington. What position do you think he would take on letting illegal aliens into the United States? Explain your answer.

16. Present an argument agreeing with the premise that immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

17. Present an argument disagreeing with the premise that immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

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Energy

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Increased production is solely responsible for the current oil glut.

_____ 2. Based on population figures, the United States uses more than its share of the world's energy.

_____ 3. Oil is the major U.S. energy source.

_____ 4. OPEC is an organization solely dedicated to selling as much oil as possible.

_____ 5. Waste disposal is a major problem caused by using nuclear reactors.

_____ 6. Burning coal to produce electricity poses few environmental problems.

_____ 7. Renewable energy sources pose major environmental hazards.

_____ 8. Conservation can do little to reduce U.S. energy consumption.

_____ 9. On an international level, free market economics rarely control the price of oil.

_____10. Recent federal energy policy has basically been to take no action except to promote nuclear energy.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Describe one cost and one benefit of nuclear power as an energy source.

12. Describe one cost and one benefit of coal as an energy source.

13. Describe one cost and one benefit of using solar energy as an energy source.

14. Describe one cost and one benefit of using synthetic fuels as an energy source.

15. Describe one cost and one benefit of using wind power as an energy source.

16. Write a one-sentence description of steps the federal government might take to promote each of the following energy policies:

a. Do nothing.

b. Promote conservation.

c. Increase oil exploration and development.

d. Promote renewable energy sources.

e. Limit importation of oil.

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Environment

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. The greenhouse effect could melt polar ice caps and raise the level of oceans enough to flood many coastal U.S. cities.

_____ 2. Changes of a few degrees have little impact on the earth's weather.

_____ 3. Acid rain is primarily a U.S. problem.

_____ 4. Water pollution is primarily organic.

_____ 5. Nuclear waste can be dangerous for thousands of years.

_____ 6. Toxic waste sometimes gets into drinking water.

_____ 7. Most toxic waste sites have been identified and are being cleaned up.

_____ 8. Current laws regarding water pollution have had little impact.

_____ 9. The cost of pollution control is high, but so is the cost of allowing pollution to continue.

_____ 10. The costs of pollution control efforts are often passed along to consumers.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following:

    a. Economic considerations should take priority over environmental issues.

    b. The United States should act to reduce acid rain.

    c. Polluters should pay the cost of environmental cleanup and protection.

12. What do scientists think are the causes of the greenhouse effect?

13. How has acid rain affected U.S. foreign relations?

14. Describe one major problem of the 1980 Superfund legislation.

15. Congress is considering passing stricter air pollution standards. Who might oppose them and why?

16. Provide one pro and one con argument for establishing recycling programs for solid waste.

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Unit Test

Agriculture

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

______ 1. The United States was once a society in which most people were farmers.

______ 2. Farmers in America have faced problems throughout most of U.S. history.

______ 3. Federal payments to farmers have decreased as the number of farmers has declined.

______ 4. Most federal payments go to large corporate farms rather than small family farms.

______ 5. Farmers today face only one crisis—getting an adequate price for their crops.

______ 6. Overproduction is considered a problem by students of the U.S. farm scene.

______ 7. Farmers in other areas of the world generally can sell food products for less than American farmers.

______ 8. The government has stopped paying farmers to take land out of production.

______ 9. Keeping food prices low for consumers while guaranteeing farmers an adequate income is a major part of federal farm policy.

______ 10. Americans pay more for food than people in any other industrialized country.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

a. The government should end payments to farmers.

b. The government should take steps to ensure that American farmers can compete on the world market.

c. The government should assist farmers who cannot pay their debts.

12. Identify two environmental problems facing farmers and explain why they are problems.

13. Provide two reasons why U.S. farmers create surpluses.

14. Who is most likely to favor parity—taxpayers, farmers, consumers, or grain exporters? Explain your answer.

15. Are corporate farms more or less efficient than family farms? Explain your answer.

16. How can farmers help the United States reduce its balance of payment deficit?

17. List two causes of increased soil erosion during recent years.

18. Why are farmers more concerned about water than they were twenty years ago?

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Crime

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Crime affects about 10 percent of all American households each year.

_____ 2. Almost half of all domestic violence goes unreported.

_____ 3. Prison sentences deter criminals from committing other crimes.

_____ 4. Career criminals commit the majority of crimes in the United States.

_____ 5. The availability of guns contributes to the high rate of violent crime.

_____ 6. Public support for the death penalty has decreased over the past twenty years.

_____ 7. The exclusionary rule excludes career criminals from voting and other rights of citizens.

_____ 8. Cities with strict gun control laws have the lowest murder rates in the United States.

_____ 9. Because the public wants longer prison sentences, Americans may have to spend billions of dollars to construct enough jails to hold all the convicts.

_____ 10. Court decisions since the mid-1970s have decreased the rights of criminal suspects.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

    a. Handguns should be registered.

    b. Criminal suspects should not have their rights protected.

c. The death penalty should be abolished.

d. The government should spend money on law enforcement rather than on education and social programs to end illegal drug use.

12. Support the argument that social factors alone do not create criminals.

13. What rights are guaranteed by each of the following:

a. Fourth Amendment

b. Fifth Amendment

c. Sixth Amendment

d. Eighth Amendment

14. Explain the *Miranda* ruling.

15. Explain how the federal budget deficit may make it more difficult to continue imposing long prison sentences.

16. Provide one pro and one con reason for maintaining parole.

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Unit Test

The Soviet Union

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

______ 1. The period after World War II marked the beginning of the Cold War.

______ 2. U.S.-Soviet relations have improved dramatically during the past few years.

______ 3. During World War II, the United States and Soviet Union were enemies.

______ 4. The events of World War II convinced the Soviets that they had to have Central Europe as a buffer to protect them from invasion.

______ 5. Containment was a Soviet policy used to stop U.S. expansion in Vietnam.

______ 6. Nuclear war was a real threat because of events in Cuba in 1962.

______ 7. Many of the significant breakthroughs in U.S.-Soviet relations occurred under Presidents Nixon and Reagan.

______ 8. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 caused President Reagan to boycott the 1980 Olympics and stop U.S. grain sales to the Soviet Union.

______ 9. Some experts think that *glasnost* shows that the Soviets are willing to make significant changes in their system.

______10. The Helsinki Accords outlined a framework whereby the United States would recognize the postwar borders of Eastern Europe in exchange for a Soviet promise to improve human rights.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Present a pro or con essay for each of the following statements:

   a. The United States accurately perceives the interests and actions of the Soviet Union.

   b. The United States should negotiate further arms control agreements with the Soviet Union.

   c. The United States should recognize Soviet republics that declare independence.

12. Write a paragraph describing the history of U.S. foreign policy since 1945 from the Soviet viewpoint.

13. Write a paragraph describing the history of Soviet foreign policy since 1945 from the American viewpoint.

14. Describe the U.S. policy of containment.

15. What is the cold war?

16. What is the purpose of NATO?

17. Describe the domino theory. Provide one example suggesting that it is valid and one example suggesting that it is invalid.

18. What are two major perceptions among Americans of the intentions of the Soviets?

19. What are three responses the United States could make to Soviet interference in other countries?

20. Describe the changes that have occurred in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since 1989.

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Defense

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. The United States retains a force of about 300,000 troops in Western Europe.

_____ 2. Triad refers to the newest U.S. missile equipped with three nuclear warheads.

_____ 3. In order to have effective deterrence, a country must be able to show potential enemies that it is too strong to attack.

_____ 4. U.S. military forces train principally to fight one potential enemy, the Soviet Union.

_____ 5. MAD means "militarily advanced defense."

_____ 6. The United States and the Soviet Union have a history of using military force against one another.

_____ 7. The War Powers Act was passed by Congress as a result of President Reagan's invasion of Grenada.

_____ 8. The president can declare war.

_____ 9. The United States has heavy commitments to defend allies around the world.

_____10. The United States used military force to oust Panamanian leader Manuel Noriega.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

a. The government should increase defense spending.

b. The United States should restructure its forces to train for small-scale conflicts in troubled areas.

c. Congress should have the power to block presidential use of military force.

12. Many critics have argued that military spending is a poor allocation of scarce national resources that could better be invested in other programs. Others say it is money well spent because it insures national security and helps the economy. Write a paragraph stating your opinion, but support your argument with facts.

13. Explain the term "peace through strength."

14. List the weapons systems that are the mainstays of U.S. nuclear deterrence.

15. Discuss the ways in which the United States helps defend its allies around the world.

16. Some experts say the role of the U.S. military is changing. What arguments do they use to support their case?

17. What is the primary feature of the B-2, or Stealth, bomber?

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Central America

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. The problems confronting many Central American nations are similar.

_____ 2. American business investments in Central America have intensified U.S. political interest in the region.

_____ 3. Only since Castro took power in Cuba has the United States intervened militarily in Central America and the Caribbean.

_____ 4. The United States was successful in removing Manuel Noriega from power in Panama.

_____ 5. Cuba's defiance of the United States has won Cuba few friends in Central America.

_____ 6. Most Central American nations have no army.

_____ 7. The United States has often supported Central American governments simply because they claimed to be anti-communist.

_____ 8. Death squads in El Salvador were groups of communist guerrillas who killed landowners of large tracts of land.

_____ 9. The Reagan doctrine placed less emphasis on human rights and more on containing communism in Central America.

_____ 10. The Sandinistas lost the 1990 elections in Nicaragua.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Describe two major economic problems that seem to touch most Central American countries.

12. Why did the United States force General Noriega from power in Panama?

13. List and briefly describe two examples of the United States sending its military to the Caribbean or Central America.

14. Why do some members of Congress want to cut aid to El Salvador?

15. Give one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

    a. The United States should emphasize military rather than economic aid in Central America.

    b. The United States should have the right to intervene in Central America.

c. The United States should give aid to El Salvador.

16. How was the Iran/*contra* affair related to events in Central America?

17. Why has Costa Rica been called a model of democracy in Central America?

18. How did the Central American policies of President Carter and President Reagan differ?

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Unit Test

The Middle East

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. In 1947, the United Nations proposed the creation of Israel and a Palestinian state.

_____ 2. Many Arabs believe that Israel should not exist.

_____ 3. Many Israelis think that a Palestinian state would be a threat to Israel.

_____ 4. Zionism is a political movement founded by survivors of the Nazi Holocaust.

_____ 5. The United States at first refused to recognize the new nation of Israel.

_____ 6. Most Middle East countries were colonies at one time.

_____ 7. The United States considers Saudi Arabia to be one of its friends among the Arab states.

_____ 8. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) seems to be moving away from any compromise with Israel.

_____ 9. Egypt is the only Arab country to have diplomatic relations with Israel.

_____ 10. Israel occupies the West Bank but so far no Israelis have been allowed to settle there.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Describe the causes of conflict in the Middle East from the perspective of both a Palestinian and an Israeli.

12. Some observers have argued that there is no hope for ending the conflict in the Middle East. Do you agree or disagree? Defend your answer.

13. Agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

a. The United States should support an independent Palestinian state.

b. The United States should insist that Israel return occupied lands.

c. The United States should support an international peace conference on the Middle East.

14. The PLO recently made a major concession that could speed the peace process in the Middle East. What was the concession?

15. Why is Israel's occupation of the West Bank controversial?

16. What are the Camp David Accords?

17. What is the underlying cause for the fighting in Lebanon?

18. List two reasons why both the United States and Soviet Union are interested in the Middle East.

19. Only part of the 1947 U.N. plan for the Middle East was ever implemented. What was it? What other part was not implemented?

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Unit Test

International Trade

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

______ 1. The United States has had a trade deficit since the Great Depression.

______ 2. The trade deficit is blamed for the loss of thousands of U.S. jobs to foreign workers every year.

______ 3. The United States encouraged foreign countries to sell goods in the United States after World War II.

______ 4. A country's geographic position may give it a comparative advantage.

______ 5. Free trade does not exist in the world marketplace.

______ 6. Trade restrictions quickly create new jobs.

______ 7. Protectionism may result in a trade war.

______ 8. In 1971, the Bretton Woods system fixed foreign currencies against the value of the dollar.

______ 9. GATT is an international organization established to set a code of conduct for trading nations.

______ 10. The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to increase trade with countries that limit U.S. trade.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Give one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

    a. The United States should raise trade barriers.

    b. The United States should try to manage trade.

    c. The U.S. government should help industry increase productivity.

12. Describe comparative advantage.

13. Name and describe two trade barriers.

14. Provide an example of how protectionism may have a negative economic impact.

15. Give one reason why American companies built factories overseas.

16. Explain how the federal budget deficit influences the balance of trade.

17. Provide two reasons why the productivity rate in foreign countries has increased faster than in the United States.

18. You are the head of Chrysler Corporation, an industry that has been severely hurt because of foreign imports. Write a letter to the president describing what you think should be done about the U.S. trade deficit.

19. Describe the terms of the U.S.-Canada Trade Pact.

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Western Europe

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

______ 1. NATO was originally formed to fight Nazi Germany during World War II.

______ 2. U.S. ties to Europe go back to World War I.

______ 3. The economic recovery of Europe since World War II complicates U.S. relations with the region.

______ 4. The nations of the European Economic Community erected trade barriers within Europe to improve their own domestic industries.

______ 5. The European economy is heavily influenced by the U.S. economy.

______ 6. European companies have found a good market in the United States.

______ 7. U.S. missiles in Europe are often a target of popular protests although the governments have expressed support for their presence.

______ 8. The United States fears increased defense spending by the Europeans.

______ 9. Western European countries are entirely dependent on the United States to supply them with nuclear weapons.

______ 10. Some U.S. policymakers, including President Bush, support reunification of East and West Germany if Germany remains part of NATO.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

    a. The United States should reduce its military presence in Europe.

    b. The United States should retaliate against restrictive European trade policies.

c. The United States should support German reunification.

12. Name and describe the U.S. plan that helped restore the economic strength of Europe after World War II.

13. Describe NATO and tell why it was formed.

14. Provide two examples of how the United States and Western Europe are economically interdependent.

15. Why are Europeans concerned about the U.S. deficit?

16. How do low U.S. interest rates help the European economy?

17. Who would be most appreciative of a low-valued U.S. dollar? Explain your answer.

a. a U.S. soldier stationed in Germany
b. a European oil importer
c. a U.S. resident buying a Mercedes-Benz
d. a European exporter

18. Describe one military issue between the United States and Western Europe that troubles many Europeans.

19. Provide one argument about the U.S.-Western European trade conflict from the viewpoint of a farmer in each area.

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Unit Test

Nuclear Proliferation

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Even peaceful nuclear reactors can be used to develop weapons.

_____ 2. Experts warn that as more nations acquire nuclear technology, such technology is more likely to fall into the hands of terrorists.

_____ 3. The United States has been a major supplier of nuclear technology and materials.

_____ 4. While many countries have signed pledges not to acquire nuclear weapons, many others have refused to sign such pledges.

_____ 5. Many countries including Brazil, Argentina, Taiwan, and Pakistan probably have the capability to develop atomic weapons before the end of the century.

_____ 6. Generally speaking, countries with nuclear weapons are interested in keeping others from acquiring them.

_____ 7. The goal of the signers of the Treaty of Tlatelolco was to make the Western Hemisphere a nuclear-free zone.

_____ 8. Many experts are convinced that nuclear proliferation can be stopped.

_____ 9. Many countries developing nuclear weapons have been engaged in serious conflicts with their neighbors.

_____ 10. Nations that have "peaceful" nuclear reactors often have the ability to separate out weapons-grade nuclear material.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

   a. Nuclear proliferation can be controlled.

   b. The United States should stop selling nuclear technology and materials that can be used to make weapons.

c. The United States should sell more conventional weapons in the hope that non-nuclear nations will not try to develop nuclear weapons.

12. Provide an argument showing that treaties are not an effective means of halting nuclear proliferation.

13. Provide an argument showing that treaties are an effective means of halting nuclear proliferation.

14. What are the powers of the U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)?

15. Which country—the Soviet Union or Pakistan—is more likely to favor tough nonproliferation enforcement? Explain your answer.

16. Describe why Pakistan's nuclear potential presents a special problem for the United States.

17. What evidence exists that current safeguards are not secure enough to prevent nuclear materials and technology from falling into the hands of terrorists or other countries?

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World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Most of the world's poorest countries are in the north temperate zone.

_____ 2. Most poor countries have an agricultural rather than an industrial economic base.

_____ 3. Most residents of Third World countries live in urban areas.

_____ 4. Most U.S. aid goes to famine areas in Africa.

_____ 5. Most U.S. aid is humanitarian assistance.

_____ 6. An economic crisis in a Third World nation such as Brazil could cause severe economic problems in the United States.

_____ 7. The two largest recipients of U.S. aid through the Economic Support Fund are Egypt and Israel.

_____ 8. Most U.S. aid goes to countries in Africa.

_____ 9. Most people in many developing countries cannot read or write.

_____ 10. Starvation plagues more people today than it did thirty years ago.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. Briefly describe four characteristics of Third World countries.

12. What two regions of the world receive the most U.S. aid? Why has the U.S. government selected these two regions?

13. Give two reasons why the United States provides aid to foreign countries.

14. List and briefly describe the two forms of foreign aid the United States provides?

15. Give one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

a. The United States should reduce foreign aid.

b. Politics should determine which countries receive aid.

c. The United States should send aid to Eastern Europe.

16. Give two arguments that opponents of U.S. foreign aid commonly give when defending their position.

17. Why is population a major concern for experts dealing with Third World issues?

18. Write an essay trying to persuade the president that U.S. aid should be either security assistance or humanitarian assistance.

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South Africa

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. Most of the people living in South Africa are black.

_____ 2. Blacks control less than half the seats in the South African parliament.

_____ 3. The South African government considers apartheid to be a form of "cooperative coexistence."

_____ 4. The South African government has established homelands where blacks have been resettled.

_____ 5. There is opposition to apartheid from both blacks and whites in South Africa.

_____ 6. The South African government has recently made some reforms in its system of apartheid.

_____ 7. The arms embargo against South Africa has been quite successful.

_____ 8. Many of South Africa's neighbors oppose apartheid, but trade with South Africa anyway.

_____ 9. South Africa has rich deposits of oil that it sells to the United States.

_____ 10. The United States has banned the importation of chromium, vanadium, and other rare minerals from South Africa.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following statements:

11. Agree or disagree with each of the following:

   a. Quiet diplomacy is the best way to change South African policies.

   b. The United States should enact more severe economic sanctions against South Africa.

   c. American businesses should cease doing business in South Africa.

12. Write the transcript of a conversation between Bishop Desmond Tutu and the executive of a U.S. company doing business in South Africa.

13. Write a short history of the white settlers of South Africa.

14. List two recent reforms made by the South African government in its system of apartheid.

15. Who is Nelson Mandela?

16. Discuss two reasons why U.N. actions have had limited success in changing South African policies.

17. Why is the United States interested in keeping a friendly government in South Africa?

18. What is constructive engagement? Provide one piece of evidence suggesting that it does or does not work.

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Japan

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

_____ 1. The United States and Japan agreed to a security arrangement in 1952.

_____ 2. Japan's constitution limits its right to raise an army.

_____ 3. Japan rebuilt its postwar industries with the help of American aid.

_____ 4. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan did not come about until the early 1980s.

_____ 5. U.S. military bases in Japan are not supported by the Japanese government.

_____ 6. U.S. consumers would pay higher prices if higher tariffs were placed on Japanese goods.

_____ 7. The Japanese government has done little to assist Japanese businesses.

_____ 8. The Japanese invest much of their capital in the United States.

_____ 9. The Japanese are the number one investors in the United States.

_____ 10. Japan spends a larger percentage of its GNP on defense than does the United States.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following:

11. From the perspective of a leading consumer advocate, write an essay to your member of Congress about U.S.-Japanese trade and investment policies.

12. From the perspective of an unemployed autoworker, write an essay to your member of Congress about U.S.-Japanese trade and investment policies.

13. Explain how the relationship between business and government in the United States differs from the same relationship in Japan.

14. Give three reasons why the United States and other nations might prefer that Japan not develop a powerful military establishment.

15. Compare Japan's explanation for the U.S. trade deficit to America's explanation for the trade deficit.

16. Explain why Japan believes that it must be a major exporter.

17. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

a. The United States should retaliate against restrictive Japanese trade practices.

b. The U.S. government should restrict Japanese investments in the United States.

c. Japan should pay more for its own defense.

18. Because the United States has one of the lowest savings rates of any industrialized nation, some observers believe that Japanese investments strengthen the U.S. economy. Do you agree or disagree? Defend your answer.

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Unit Test Answers

Introduction

1. T

2. T

3. F—Congress during the Bush administration has been controlled by the Democrats.

4. F—They often disagree.

5. T

6. T

7. T

8. F—OMB is an executive office and reflects the priorities of the president.

9. F—Congress also has to approve funding for a federal program.

10. T

11. Students can pick any three cabinet members. The teacher must judge student responses about the important issues each will face.

12. A divided government occurs when the presidency and Congress are controlled by different parties. The division can make it difficult for either side to get legislation passed without a great deal of compromise.

13. Students must give two likely areas of conflict. They could include defense issues, social programs, and taxes. Teacher's judgment is important.

14. The Warren Court had emphasized the protection of the civil liberties of minorities, while the Burger Court often held that the rights of minorities should not infringe on the rights of the majority. Also, the two Courts differed in decisions involving arrest procedures for suspected criminals.

15. An authorization bill indicates Congress's approval of a program, states its goals, sets rules and regulations, and sets the amount of money the agency can spend for that program.

16. An appropriations bill actually gives the agency its money to run a program.

17. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings—the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act—requires Congress to reduce the deficit to zero by 1993.

The Economy

1. T

2. F—A strong dollar hurts U.S. exports because it makes American goods cost more overseas.

3. F—Unemployment increases during a recession.

4. F—Bush believes that lowering the capital gains tax will spur economic growth and increase government revenues.

5. T

6. F—People tend to spend money rather than save it so they can beat the next price increase.

7. F—Unemployment causes a drop in tax revenues because unemployed people earn less and pay less taxes.

8. F—Productivity rate increases in the United States are among the lowest of the world's industrialized nations.

9. T

10. F—A balanced budget is not required by law.

11. Students must agree or disagree with the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

12. Rising productivity usually leads to higher wages, higher profits, and lower prices.

13. The United States is one of the world's largest importers and exporters. It represents an enormous market for foreign goods and is a huge supplier for overseas markets. U.S. foreign trade has a major bearing on both domestic and foreign inflation rates, unemployment rates, and interest rates. Many foreign countries depend on U.S. banks for their financing.

14. a. A retired couple living on social security and their savings. With a fixed income, inflation reduces their buying power.

15. Students must give two steps. Such steps may include imposing wage controls to reduce money available for spending; or the Federal Reserve Board

can tighten money by raising interest rates thereby reducing the amount of money in circulation.

16. A Keynesian would increase government spending to stimulate the economy.

17. A supply-sider would cut taxes to give more spendable money to consumers, thereby stimulating the economy.

18. Companies can develop and install more efficient machinery and technology, build modern factories, or give incentives to efficient employees.

19. The U.S. economy is an "engine of growth" because the United States is one of the world's largest importers and exporters. The United States is a huge market for foreign goods and produces vast quantities of goods to sell overseas.

20. Tax cuts put more spendable money into the hands of the consumers. Increased spending by consumers causes the economy to grow resulting in less unemployment, improved incomes, and increases in the amount of taxes people have to pay.

Education

1. unequal

2. states

3. racial segregation, racism, or poverty

4. mainstreaming

5. dropout

6. busing

7. magnet

8. state

9. Lyndon Johnson

10. *A Nation at Risk*

11. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

12. Students will probably support the first statement by pointing out such reforms as higher graduation requirements, longer school days, and longer school years. In some cases, states have dictated requirements to local districts. On the other hand, some states have given districts a freer hand in setting their own requirements.

    Students could argue either way when answering the second statement.

    Students should indicate that the third statement is generally true and may give specific evidence citing increased federal aid, federally required programs, creation of the Department of Education, etc. They may argue against by saying that recent administrations have on occasion tried to reduce the federal role.

13. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students must take a stance, and then defend it with specific evidence.

Civil Rights

1. F—Reference to women was often purposely excluded from civil rights legislation to avoid controversy and ensure passage.

2. T

3. T

4. F—The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was primarily concerned with racial discrimination in public accommodations and jobs.

5. F—The Twenty-fourth Amendment barred the use of a poll tax.

6. F—Suffragists work for the extension of voting rights.

7. T

8. F—The 1967 Age Discrimination Act barred companies from forcing workers to retire because of age.

9. T

10. T

11.-14. Students must present one argument for and one argument against each of the four statements. Answers reflect student opinion; however, student responses should reflect knowledge of each issue. Teachers must use judgment when evaluating the responses.

15. Student opinion, but answers should refer to explanations such as the demands of the free market, the laws of supply and demand, and lack of education or experience. Students may have other acceptable answers.

16. Students must agree or disagree with the statement. Their answers should reflect knowledge of what civil rights has come to mean and to what groups and how civil rights have been extended.

Social Programs

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—The Great Society was President Lyndon Johnson's program.

5. T

6. T

7. T

8. T

9. F—Retirement age is gradually being increased from 65 to 67.

10. F—Minorities are more likely to live in poverty.

11. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

12. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson

13. Students may choose from such criticisms as welfare is too costly, the benefits go to people who do not need them, administrative costs are too high, some recipients are frauds, and welfare contributes too much to the budget deficit. Other responses are possible.

14. Social security recipients make up a large percentage of the population and represent a strong lobbying and voting force. Also, few members of Congress want to be accused of being uncaring toward the elderly or disabled.

15. Budget experts have difficulty pinpointing exactly how much each program is actually going to cost. The payments go to whomever is entitled and their numbers change from year to year.

16. COLAs are supposed to counter inflationary rises in the cost-of-living. If eliminated, persons on social programs lose buying power.

17. The number of people approaching retirement age is increasing rapidly.

18. b. A fifty-year-old worker is probably at the peak of his or her earning potential, and consequently is paying high income taxes. He or she may resent paying taxes for child care from which someone else will benefit.

19. Students must list three of the following:

- States must enroll 7 percent of all welfare mothers whose youngest children are more than three years old in education, training, work-experience, or job search programs. By 1990, 20 percent must be enrolled.
- Workers who find jobs and stop receiving AFDC benefits are eligible for subsidized day care and Medicaid for one year.
- Absentee fathers who work and whose children receive welfare must make child support payments.
- Families whose fathers as well as mothers live at home may be eligible for AFDC payments.
- One parent in two-parent welfare families must perform sixteen hours of free community service per week.

Health Care

1. F—The majority of Americans still depend on private health insurance.

2. T

3. F—Doctors are not obligated to accept Medicare patients.

4. T

5. T

6. F—No cure has been found for AIDS.

7. T

8. F—DRG stands for diagnosis-related group payment.

9. T

10. T

11. Students are to give two answers. Possible answers include:

- Many people, especially the poor, do not receive adequate health care because they cannot afford it.
- Many who need treatment go without, thus their health deteriorates.
- Costs would be controlled with government regulations. Overall costs would be less.

12. Students are to give two answers. Possible answers include:

- Seventy-five percent of all Americans already have private health insurance.
- Competition keeps cost down.
- A national plan is too costly and would cause increases in the federal budget, taxes, and the deficit.
- National health care is an example of government intrusion in what has historically been a private business.

13. The first part of Medicare helps pay for hospital nursing care. It is funded through a payroll tax paid by each working person. The second part is called supplemental medical insurance and covers 80 percent of doctor fees, laboratory tests, and other expenses. It is optional.

14. Malpractice suits have driven up the cost of doctors' liability insurance and have caused doctors to use many expensive tests to avoid lawsuits. Increased costs are passed on to patients.

15. Students are to give three answers. Possible answers include:

- The U.S. health care industry has steadily expanded its system to where people no longer pay their own bills. They are being paid by insurance companies, Medicare, etc.
- The development of expensive new technology has caused a rapid rise in costs.
- Malpractice insurance and payouts have added to the cost.
- Very expensive treatment is being given to patients who are terminally ill, and expensive transplants are being provided to a very small percentage of people.

16. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating this essay. Students are required to describe a health care plan and defend it.

17. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students are to take a stance, and then defend it with specific evidence.

Immigration

1. F—The majority of immigrants to the United States each year enter illegally.

2. F—The act was the Chinese Exclusion Act, and had nothing to do with Japanese immigrants.

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—The act says nothing about economic hardship. It includes persons who flee because of persecution on the basis of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

7. F—An argument is that they drive wages down because they will work for less pay.

8. T

9. T

10. F—Americans of European descent will become the minority in less than a hundred years.

11. Students may provide several arguments. They may point to such arguments as cultural or racial inferiority, a lowering of the U.S. standard of living, unfair job competition, or failure to assimilate into American culture.

12. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

13. Students could point to several examples including the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Gentlemen's Agreement, setting quotas based on immigrants who were already established in the United States, and so forth.

14. In 1900, a native-born American would probably be worried about immigrants coming from Eastern and Southern Europe—places unlike those from where his or her ancestors immigrated. He or she would also be concerned about job competition.

15. Mr. Smith would probably favor allowing more illegal immigrants into the United States. He would be looking for cheap labor to harvest his apples.

16. Students may say that immigrants will work for less pay, therefore employers will hire them before they will hire an American citizen.

17. Students may say that because illegal immigrants perform work that no American citizen wants to do, illegal immigrants are filling a vital role in our economic system.

Energy

1. F—Lower crude oil prices have kept imports high, domestic production has increased, and conservation efforts have reduced consumption.

2. T

3. T

4. F—OPEC tries to regulate oil production and exports by its members to keep the industry profitable.

5. T

6. F—Coal smoke pollutes the atmosphere and contributes to the formation of acid rain. Strip mining is also an environmental problem.

7. F—Renewable energy sources conserve natural resources and do not pollute.

8. F—Conservation is an important means of reducing energy consumption.

9. T

10. F—The federal government has reduced its energy hold but does not necessarily promote nuclear energy.

(Students may have other answers for questions 11-15 but the following costs and benefits are likely answers.)

11. **Costs:** disposal of nuclear waste, high public opposition because of Three Mile Island and Chernobyl, concern for safety, and high start-up costs.

    Benefits: low energy production costs once plant is in place, little air or water pollution, plenty of available nuclear fuel.

12. **Costs:** air pollution, acid rain, strip mining.

    Benefits: plentiful reserves, cheaper to produce than oil, does not have to be imported.

13. **Costs:** high equipment costs, impractical on large scale.

    Benefits: renewable energy source, plentiful source of fuel, nonpolluting.

14. **Costs:** expensive to produce, requires much water to produce, toxic wastes cause environmental problems.

    Benefits: less pressure on oil, plentiful natural resources from which synthetic fuels are made.

15. **Costs:** production costs are high, power production is small, impractical on a large scale.

    Benefits: renewable energy source, clean.

16. Although students may have other answers, the following are likely:

    Do nothing: government might deregulate energy supplies and let free market take over.

    Promote conservation: government may place high taxes on fuel to decrease consumption, and close government-owned land to exploration.

    Increase oil exploration and development: government could subsidize exploration, cut taxes that companies must pay so they can spend the money on exploration and development, and open up federal lands to exploration and development.

    Promote renewable energy sources: government could give tax credits for solar and wind energy equipment and give grants for development and installation.

    Limit importation of oil: government might impose high tariffs to discourage importation and impose high federal taxes at the gas pump to discourage consumption.

Environment

1. T

2. F—The earth's weather can be greatly affected by a temperature change of a few degrees.

3. F—Acid rain is a problem in Canada and Europe as well as the United States.

4. F—Chemical waste is a major pollutant of water.

5. T

6. T

7. F—Many old toxic waste dump sites have not been identified and are not being cleaned up.

8. F—U.S. streams and lakes are much cleaner as a result of current environmental laws.

9. T

10. T

11. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

12. Scientists think that the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen dramatically, thereby trapping the sun's heat, raising the earth's temperature, and causing the greenhouse effect.

13. Acid rain has strained relations between the United States and Canada. The government of Canada has pressured the United States to do something about controlling sulphur dioxide emissions into the atmosphere, a possible cause of acid rain.

14. Superfund requires polluters, once they are identified, to pay for cleanup of toxic waste dumps. However, it is often difficult or impossible to identify the parties guilty of dumping the toxic wastes, and the government ends up paying much more of the cleanup costs than intended.

15. Opponents to stricter air pollution standards might include such groups as utility companies, automobile manufacturers, coal-burning industries, and so forth. Most would oppose stricter air pollution standards because of increased costs. Consumers might also be included if increased costs were passed on to them.

16. Pro arguments might include decreasing landfill space, pollution brought on by burning solid waste, and financial and environmental benefits of recycling. Con arguments would center on costs and inconvenience of sorting and recycling solid waste.

Agriculture

1. T

2. T

3. F—Federal payments have increased as the number of farms has declined.

4. T

5. F—Getting an adequate price is a problem, but not the only one. Farmers must contend with such problems as high interest rates and unpredictable weather.

6. T

7. T

8. F—Paying farmers not to farm part of their land is still included in government farm programs.

9. T

10. F—Americans pay less of their income for food than do people in any other industrialized country.

11. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

12. Two environmental problems faced by farmers are soil erosion and increased need for water. Erosion is causing topsoil to decline, thereby reducing soil fertility. Finding adequate water for irrigation is a problem because farmers must compete with cities for water, and the underground water supply is being depleted.

13. Surpluses are produced because of increased land that is put into production, price supports that encourage more production, and inadequate prices that encourage farmers to produce as much as possible to pay their debts.

14. Farmers would favor parity because it would raise

the prices they receive for their products. The others would not favor parity because it would increase food prices, raise taxes, and make U.S. farm exports less competitive on world markets.

15. Corporate farms are more efficient. They are larger and often have vast financial resources and tax advantages.

16. The larger the amount of farm exports the smaller the balance of payment deficit.

17. In recent years, farmers put more land into production in order to increase the size of their yield. Marginal land was put into production by plowing grass and cutting trees. Such actions left soil unprotected to wind and water erosion.

18. Farmers must compete with cities for water. Underground water supplies are declining as irrigation increases.

Crime

1. F—Crime affects nearly 25 percent of U.S. households each year.

2. T

3. F—A high percentage of criminals repeat crimes after they are released from prison.

4. T

5. T

6. F—Public support for the death penalty has increased over the past twenty years.

7. F—The exclusionary rule states that illegally seized evidence cannot be used against someone in court. Search warrants must be issued before evidence can be seized.

8. F—Statistics show that strict gun control laws have little effect on the murder rates in cities. Most murders are committed with illegally obtained weapons.

9. T

10. T

11. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgement when evaluating.

12. Social factors contribute to crime but not all persons living in poverty become criminals. Questions remain about persons living under the same conditions—some become criminals and some do not.

13. a. The Fourth Amendment protects persons from unreasonable search and seizure.

    b. The Fifth Amendment protects suspects from being compelled to testify against themselves.

    c. The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a speedy trial with a jury and the right to have an attorney.

    d. The Eighth Amendment forbids excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment.

14. Suspects must be read their rights before being questioned.

15. The federal budget deficit makes the government reluctant to build more prisons; therefore, criminals must be released after a shorter time to make room for incoming convicts.

16. Pro arguments for maintaining parole include easing the burden on overcrowded prisons and rewarding convicts who are truly rehabilitated. Con arguments include keeping people in prison to serve out their full terms demonstrates that crime does not pay, and eliminating parole recognizes the victims' suffering.

The Soviet Union

1. T

2. T

3. F—The United States and the Soviet Union were allies during World War II.

4. T

5. F—Containment refers to a U.S. policy of containing communist expansion wherever it threatens other countries.

6. T

7. T

8. F—The grain embargo and Olympic boycott happened under the Carter administration.

9. T

10. T

11. Students must provide a pro or con essay for all three statements. Teacher judgment is important to determine if students' answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

12. Students' opinions must be from the Soviet viewpoint. Students may justify Soviet actions as responses to U.S. policies such as establishing the Marshall Plan, forming NATO, fighting the Korean and Vietnam Wars, and reacting to Soviet missiles in Cuba.

13. Students' opinions must be from the American viewpoint. Students may justify U.S. actions as responses to Soviet policies such as refusing to grant free elections in occupied Eastern Europe after World War II and establishing the "Iron Curtain," forming the Warsaw Pact, giving aid to communist revolutionaries around the world, and so forth.

14. Containment was a policy that said the United States would do whatever was necessary to contain communism within its post-World War II borders. The policy held that the United States would not allow communism to expand.

15. The cold war refers to the hostility between the two sides after World War II. Much of the conflict was ideological as each side condemned the other's political and economic philosophies. It was fought with propaganda, arms buildup, and economic and military aid to other countries.

16. NATO is a permanent military alliance of western countries to keep communism from moving into Western Europe.

17. The domino theory held that if one country in a region of the world fell to communism, its neighbors would soon follow. An example suggesting validity may be Southeast Asia, where Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia all became communist after American withdrawal from Vietnam. Examples suggesting invalidity may be that no other nations in the Caribbean followed Cuba into communism, or that Thailand and Burma did not fall to communism after the United States left Southeast Asia.

18. One side thinks the Soviet Union is an evil empire bent on world domination. Another side believes that because neither country really appreciates nor understands the other, they must discuss ways to reduce tension.

19. The United States could use military force, impose trade sanctions, or give aid to anti-communist forces.

20. Eastern European countries have rejected communism and are turning toward democracy and market economies. The Soviet Union has allowed competing parties to form and given voters a chance to elect rival candidates.

Defense

1. T

2. F—Triad is the three-part system of ICBMs, submarines, and long-range bombers.

3. T

4. T

5. F—MAD refers to "mutually assured destruction." The United States assumes that no country will start a nuclear war knowing that it, in turn, would be destroyed by U.S. nuclear weapons.

6. F—The United States and Soviet Union have not used military force against each other.

7. F—The War Powers Act was passed in response to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. It was passed during the Nixon administration.

8. F—Only Congress can declare war.

9. T

10. T

11. Students must either agree or disagree with all three statements. Answers should be factual and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

12. The question calls for student opinion. Answers must be based on fact and teacher's judgment is important.

13. "Peace through strength" holds that a strong military ensures peace because a potential enemy will

not risk war knowing that the other side is too strong to defeat.

14. Students should list items such as ICBMs, SLBMs, long-range bombers, and missile-carrying ships.

15. The United States defends its allies by placing troops and nuclear missiles on allied soil, giving allies money to keep their defenses modern, and contributing to alliances such as NATO.

16. Experts who argue that the role of the U.S. military is changing point to a lessening of hostility with the Soviet Union and the need to be able to respond to increasing potential for trouble in smaller countries such as those in the Middle East and Latin America.

17. The B-2 is supposed to be able to slip undetected through enemy radar.

Central America

1. T

2. T

3. F—The United States has a long history of intervention in Central America and the Caribbean going back to fighting the Spanish-American War in 1898 and landing marines in Nicaragua in 1909.

4. T

5. F—Many Central Americans look upon Cuba with favor because of Cuba's defiance of the United States.

6. F—All but Costa Rica have an army.

7. T

8. F—Death squads were right wing extremists who murdered proponents of land-reform policy.

9. T

10. T

11. Students are to give two economic problems. Choices could include land ownership by a few families and land reform, unstable governments, civil war, lack of education, unemployment, and other social and economic problems.

12. Noriega has been indicted in U.S. courts on drug-smuggling charges. He forced an elected president from office and replaced him with his own man. Some Americans feared turning the Panama Canal over to a Noriega-led government.

13. Students are to give two examples. They could include the Spanish-American War, naval intervention in Nicaragua in 1909, and U.S. troop presence in Panama and Honduras today.

14. They oppose the government of President Christiani, associating it with right-wing death squads.

15. Students are to give both a pro and a con argument. Answers must be factual and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

16. Administration staff confessed to sending money that was received from selling arms to Iran to the *contras* in Nicaragua. At that time Congress had banned all U.S. aid to the *contras*.

17. Costa Rica has had open, free elections since 1889. In the last ten elections only twice was the candidate in power returned to power.

18. Carter threatened to cut off all foreign aid to any country that abused the human rights of its citizens. Reagan placed less emphasis on human rights and more on containing communism.

The Middle East

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—Zionism was a political movement founded in 1897 to establish a Jewish homeland free from anti-Semitic persecution.

5. F—The United States recognized Israel from its beginning.

6. T

7. T

8. F—PLO leader Yasir Arafat has accepted Israel's right to exist.

9. T

10. F—Many Israelis have settled on the West Bank.

11. Palestinians would say that the Israelis forced them from their homes in Palestine in 1948 and the only way to get back their land is to fight. Israelis would claim that their nation was legally established by the United Nations, that they have a right to it, and will fight to hold onto it.

12. This question calls for student opinion. Students must agree or disagree and defend their answer with facts.

13. Students must agree or disagree with each of the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

14. The PLO's Arafat has recognized Israel's right to exist.

15. The West Bank was seized by Israel from Jordan in the Six-Day War in 1967 and Israel has allowed settlers to move there. Many nations want Israel to return the land it took during wars with Arab countries, claiming that by allowing settlers in occupied territories Israel is complicating the peace process.

16. Egypt and Israel negotiated a framework for peace at Camp David, Maryland, in 1978 with the help of President Jimmy Carter. A peace treaty and official diplomatic recognition soon followed and Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

17. Many different groups of people live in Lebanon. Sixty percent are Moslems, 40 percent are Christians, and both religious groups are divided by factions. Syria has troops in part of Lebanon, and Israel has also sent troops there several times.

18. The question asks for two reasons. Students may mention that both superpowers are competing for friends and allies in the region, sell arms to nations in the Middle East, give other kinds of aid and advice in the region, and are interested in Middle East oil.

19. A Jewish state was created, but a Palestinian state was not.

International Trade

1. F—The United States has had a trade deficit only since the mid-1970s.

2. T

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—Trade restrictions often cost jobs.

7. T

8. F—In 1971, Bretton Woods was reformed into a floating system.

9. T

10. F—The Trade Act requires the president to limit imports from countries that restrict U.S. imports.

11. Students are to give one pro and one con argument for each statement. Answers should be based on fact and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

12. Comparative advantage refers to a particular strength such as a natural resource, a human resource, climate, or location that allows a country to produce a product inexpensively.

13. Tariffs are taxes imposed by governments on imported goods to raise the selling price of such goods. Quotas are restrictions imposed by governments limiting the amount of goods that can be brought into a country.

14. Protectionism may cost jobs, lead to higher prices for domestic goods, cause other nations to retaliate, or lead to a trade war.

15. Students are to list one reason. Answers could include lower labor costs, higher profits, creation of new overseas markets, or investment of surplus capital.

16. Budget deficits drive up interest rates, which in turn drive up the price of American goods overseas. Higher prices cause consumers to buy fewer American goods. However, the increased value of the

dollar makes foreign goods cheaper in the United States and causes Americans to import more.

17. Students must give two reasons. They could include:
    - Foreign companies have been more willing to invest in newer, more efficient manufacturing techniques while U.S. companies have often lagged behind.
    - Foreign companies benefit from strong government planning.
    - Workers in other nations are willing to work for lower wages than are many U.S. workers—especially in unionized industries.

18. Students' letters should be based on facts—not opinion or emotion. They will probably refer to trade protection and reducing budget deficits and trade imbalance. Teacher's judgment is important.

19. The U.S.-Canada Trade Pact eliminates all tariffs between the two countries by 1999. It also removes restriction on cross-border investments.

Western Europe

1. F—NATO was formed in 1949 as an alliance to protect Europe from invasion by communist forces from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

2. F—U.S.-European ties go back hundreds of years, to the voyages of Columbus.

3. T

4. F—The European Economic Community dropped trade barriers within Europe to encourage trade and stimulate industry among its members.

5. T

6. T

7. T

8. F—The United States would like the European allies to spend more on defense.

9. F—Both Great Britain and France have nuclear weapons.

10. T

11. Students are to give both a pro and a con answer to all three parts. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

12. The Marshall Plan was a huge aid plan established by the United States after World War II to provide money, investment, and trade to war-torn Europe to enable the Europeans to repel communism or the return of fascism.

13. NATO is a military alliance of sixteen nations formed in 1949 to prevent armed communist attack in Western Europe.

14. Students may refer to examples such as loans from U.S. banks to European companies and vice versa, interest rates and the value of the dollar, U.S. markets in Europe and European markets in the United States, and trade barriers.

15. Budget deficits cause interest rates to rise, which encourages European investors to invest in U.S. banks and businesses. Such investments drain Europe of needed capital.

16. As low interest rates drive down the value of the dollar, the United States becomes a more favorable place to sell European products. This increases European exports to the United States and decreases U.S. exports to Europe.

17. b. A European oil importer can buy more oil with cheaper dollars, thus helping his or her business.

18. Students need to describe only one military issue. Issues may include U.S. missiles in Europe, support and contributions to NATO, U.S. troops and maneuvers in Europe, and increased burden sharing by the Europeans.

19. A U.S. farmer wants European governments to stop subsidizing their farmers so that U.S. products are more competitive in European markets. Conversely, European farmers want the subsidies to keep U.S. farm products out of Europe.

Nuclear Proliferation

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. F—The goal of the signers was to make Latin America a nuclear free zone.

8. F—Most experts think nuclear proliferation will continue.

9. T

10. T

11. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

12. Many treaties calling for an end to nuclear proliferation have been created but often nations are reluctant to sign them for fear of falling behind in the arms race.

13. Agreements among members of the "nuclear club" have slowed the transfer of nuclear materials and technology. Supporters would say that such treaties, even though they have not stopped nuclear proliferation altogether, are better than nothing.

14. The IAEA cannot force any country to abide by the United Nations agreement, but it serves as an inspecting and record-keeping agency.

15. The Soviet Union would favor nonproliferation enforcement because it is already a nuclear power. Pakistan would oppose nonproliferation enforcement because it would not want to be stopped in its quest to develop nuclear weapons.

16. The United States gives over $500 million in aid to Pakistan each year, but if Pakistan builds a nuclear weapon, the U.S. government is required by law to suspend all aid. Relations between the two countries and U.S. prestige in the area would suffer.

17. Even though the number of nations in the "nuclear club" has not increased since the 1970s, the number of nations with the potential to build nuclear weapons has increased greatly. Some may have already built bombs secretly. Nations with "peaceful" nuclear reactors can make, and probably have made, weapons-grade nuclear materials, and many have the technology to make a bomb.

World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

1. F—Most of the world's poorest countries are south of the Tropic of Cancer.

2. T

3. F—Most residents are rural.

4. F—Most U.S. aid goes to countries in the Middle East, Central America, and the Caribbean Basin.

5. F—Most U.S. aid is security assistance.

6. T

7. T

8. F—Most U.S. aid goes to countries in the Middle East and Central America.

9. T

10. T

11. Students are to list four characteristics. Characteristics include bad roads, no plumbing or electricity, primitive farming techniques, little industry, low health standards, short life span, high infant mortality, illiteracy, unequal distribution of income, and hunger.

12. The regions are the Middle East and Central America. Both are strategically located, and the United States wants stable and friendly governments there.

13. Students are to give two reasons. The United States gives aid to maintain its alliance system for security, raise standards of living of Third World countries, promote political stability, feed the hungry, treat the sick, and help the poor.

14. Security assistance is primarily military aid to strengthen friendly governments. Humanitarian aid

goes to build schools and roads and to feed the hungry.

15. Students must give both a pro and a con argument. Answers must be factual and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

16. Opponents of U.S. aid say that the budget deficit is too high to continue giving aid. Others argue that the United States gives too much unnecessary military aid to countries that are not really poor or needy.

17. Birth rates are high in poor Third World countries which puts even more of a strain on their resources. These nations are already plagued by hunger, disease, and unemployment.

18. The question calls for student opinion, but arguments should be factual. Teacher's judgment is important.

South Africa

1. T

2. F—Blacks control no seats in the South African parliament.

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. F—Nations have violated the arms embargo and South Africa has its own arms industry.

8. T

9. F—South Africa has no oil, but does sell other valuable minerals to the United States.

10. F—The United States continues to import rare minerals from South Africa.

11. Students must either agree or disagree with all three statements. Their arguments must be factual. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

12. Students should present legitimate arguments that both parties would likely make. Tutu would call for an economic boycott and justify why he would favor such action. The U.S. executive would justify his company's actions in South Africa.

13. Dutch settlers came to Cape Town in 1652 as part of the Dutch East India Company. Germans and French Huguenots soon followed and in time all became known as Afrikaners. The British annexed Cape Town in 1806, and many Afrikaners moved north on the Great Trek. After Britain continued to expand into Afrikaner territory, the Boer War broke out between the two sides and all of southern Africa soon became part of the British Empire. South Africa remained part of the British Empire—later Commonwealth—until 1961, when it declared itself a republic.

14. Students must give two examples. They may include that the government now acknowledges the permanence of blacks, condones interracial marriages, allows blacks to own property, has abolished passbooks, recognizes black labor unions, and has given local communities the right to integrate public facilities.

15. Nelson Mandela is the former president of the African National Congress. Recently released from prison, Mandela is considered by many to be the symbolic leader of the anti-apartheid movement.

16. Economic boycotts have failed because many nations need South African products. The arms boycott has been violated, and South Africa has an arms industry of its own.

17. The United States needs some rare South African minerals and wants to keep a friendly government in that region of the world. Also, the South African government is anti-Soviet.

18. "Constructive engagement" was President Reagan's policy of engaging South Africa in quiet diplomacy. He emphasized economic cooperation but urged the South African government to make reforms in its system.

Japan

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—The first year of the U.S. trade deficit with Japan was 1965.

5. F—Japan spends $2 billion a year to pay for the U.S. armed presence there. Japan also provides rent-free land for military bases.

6. T

7. F—The Japanese government gives aid to promising Japanese businesses.

8. T

9. F—Great Britain is the largest investor in the United States.

10. F—Japan spends only about 1 percent of its GNP on defense while the United States spends far more.

11. As a consumer advocate, the student should urge continued Japanese trade and investment with few restrictions, citing lower consumer prices and high-quality products for U.S. consumers.

12. As an unemployed autoworker, the student should urge restrictions on Japanese imports and investments so that U.S. industries, such as the automobile industry, could recover and expand and perhaps restore his or her job.

13. The Japanese government gives aid and encouragement to promising Japanese companies. It helps them to develop new technology to increase efficiency and urges competing companies to work together so they all benefit in the end. The U.S. government is reluctant to give aid and encouragement to private companies, claiming such matters are best handled by the private sector.

14. The United States might not want Japan to develop a powerful military because it could displace the United States as the leading military power in the Pacific region. Other nations, especially in Asia, may fear increased Japanese military power because of Japan's history of aggression in the 1930s and 1940s.

15. Many Americans think that Japan competes unfairly by erecting trade barriers to keep U.S. goods out of Japan and by undercutting U.S. manufacturers' prices on goods sold in the United States. Many Japanese blame the trade deficit on the high U.S. budget deficit, which keeps the value of the dollar high, and on the low U.S. savings rate, which reduces the available capital. Many Japanese, and some Americans, also say that U.S. consumers prefer Japanese goods because they are superior to American goods.

16. Japan depends on trade deficits because it lacks raw materials. Japan must export finished goods so that it can buy the raw materials it needs.

17. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual and the teacher's judgment is important. See "Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

18. Students can agree or disagree, but they must defend their answer. They should refer to available U.S. capital for investments, Japanese companies providing jobs for Americans, and other related examples.

Worksheets

Introduction

Budget Survey

Below are several statements about the budget. Circle A if you agree, D if you disagree, or U if you are undecided.

	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
1. The federal government should reduce the budget deficit.	A	D	U
2. Domestic benefits such as Medicare, Medicaid, retirement pensions, and social security should be reduced.	A	D	U
3. Defense spending should be cut.	A	D	U
4. The federal government pays too much interest on the national debt.	A	D	U
5. Defense spending should be more than spending for pensions, social security, and programs for the poor and handicapped.	A	D	U
6. Federal programs such as the FBI, national parks, air safety, and the weather bureau represent a small part of the federal budget and should not be cut.	A	D	U
7. State and local governments should take up the slack left by cuts in federal programs.	A	D	U
8. Taxes should be raised to reduce the budget deficit.	A	D	U
9. The president is primarily responsible for balancing the budget.	A	D	U
10. Congress is primarily responsible for balancing the budget.	A	D	U
11. The budget will be balanced by 1993 as stipulated by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings act.	A	D	U

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Worksheet 2

The Economy

Read "The Reagan Economic Legacy" in *Current Issues* and other sources to complete this worksheet. Divide the work on costs and benefits in item two and share your findings with your partner.

1. Describe the economic policy often called "Reaganomics."

2. What do you see as the costs and benefits of President Reagan's economics policies?

Costs	Benefits

3. Write a paragraph evaluating the short-term and long-term impact of the economic policies of the Reagan administration.

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Education

Use this worksheet to gather the information you need to prepare a mock television report.

Topic:____

1. What are the problems or areas of possible improvement?

2. What changes, if any, do you recommend?

3. Who will be influenced by your proposed changes?

4. How will they be influenced by your changes?

5. What are some negative aspects of your proposed changes?

6. What are some benefits of your proposed changes?

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Worksheet 4

Civil Rights

Complete the following chart, using *Current Issues* and any other sources of information you may need.

Group	Rights protected	Document, court case, or legislation protecting the right	Date

1. Do you think that civil rights is still an issue in our society? Why or why not?

2. Are there any changes in federal civil rights policies that you would like to see? Explain.

3. Do you think that government action is effective in eliminating discrimination? Why or why not?

4. Should the government tell people that they have to rent property to any qualified renter regardless of sex, race, and religion, or that a restaurant owner must serve anyone who can pay? Why do you feel the way you do?

5. Are there limits on what the government should do to promote equality for all? For example, should the government tell developers that 20 percent of all the houses they build must be sold to a minority family? Or, should the government have special scholarship funds just for minority students? Why or why not?

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Worksheet 5

Social Programs

As you read "Social Programs" in *Current Issues*, list all the social programs mentioned and complete the following information about each.

Program	Date created	Benefits	Who gets benefits?	Annual cost (if known)
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

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Worksheet 6

Health Care

Student Survey

Work together to find the correct response for each of the following true/false statements. Use T for true and F for false. Use any source of information necessary to complete the survey.

_____ 1. In some states, family health insurance costs have risen as much as 400 percent since 1980.

_____ 2 A coronary bypass operation costing $1,800 in 1979 would cost $37,300 today.

_____ 3. The average cost per day of a hospital stay is more than $300.

_____ 4. Health care today costs U.S. consumers more than ten cents of every dollar they spend for goods and services.

_____ 5. In some states, a family of four earning more than $4,248 per year is no longer eligible for Medicaid.

_____ 6. In 1984, 96 percent of all workers with hospital insurance were allowed to choose their own doctors, but in 1989 only 28 percent could choose.

_____ 7. By 1991, health care costs for AIDS patients will be more than $6 billion.

_____ 8. About 37 million Americans have no health insurance.

_____ 9. Doctors often use new and costly equipment and procedures simply to reduce the risk of a malpractice lawsuit.

_____ 10. Many health care programs have an incentive for doctors and hospitals to provide minimal care to patients.

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Health Care

Complete the chart and answer the questions that follow. This exercise will help you learn more about the key issues in this unit.

1. Complete the chart below being as specific as possible. Use *Current Issues* or any other source of information.

President	Health care proposal	Results
Theodore Roosevelt		
Franklin D. Roosevelt		
Harry Truman		
Dwight Eisenhower		
Lyndon Johnson		

2. Answer the following questions about Medicare.

- What is Medicare?

- Whom does Medicare serve?

- What does Medicare cover?

- What doesn't Medicare cover?

- What problems does Medicare face?

- What are Medicare's strengths?

3. Answer the following questions about Medicaid.

- What is Medicaid?

- Whom does Medicaid serve?

- What does Medicaid cover?

- What doesn't Medicaid cover?

- What problems does Medicaid face?

- What are Medicaid's strengths?

4. Why have health care costs risen so dramatically in the past decade?

5. What steps can individuals take to reduce health care costs?

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Worksheet 8

Health Care

1. Complete the following cost/benefit chart, and answer the questions. This exercise will help you decide the best federal policy for health care in the United States.

Policy	Costs	Benefits
Creation of a federally funded national health care program for all.		
Creation of a privately funded national health care program for all.		

2. Present a pro-con argument for both of the positions above.

3. Tell your ideas about a program for national health care by responding to each of the following:

- Where should the money to support your plan come from?

- Who is covered in your plan?

- What is covered in your plan?

- What are the benefits of your plan?

- What are the weaknesses of your plan?

- Who do you think will support your plan? Why?

- Who do you think will oppose your plan? Why?

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Worksheet 9

Immigration

As you read "Immigration" in *Current Issues*, list the immigration acts or policies mentioned and answer the questions about each.

Name of act or policy	What did it propose?	Who did it favor?	Who did it discriminate against?	What is your opinion about the act?
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

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Worksheet 10

Energy

Use this worksheet to help you develop your federal energy policy. Complete the three columns on the right for each of the possible energy policies in the first column.

Policy	Steps that might be taken	Costs	Benefits
Promote conservation			
Promote increase in oil exploration and development			
Decontrol oil prices			
Control oil prices			
Promote synthetic fuels			
Promote use of coal			
Develop renewable energy such as solar, wind, water			
Do nothing at all			
Limit imports			

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Worksheet 11

Energy

Use this worksheet to help you develop your federal energy policy. Using all resources available to you, list the strengths and weaknesses of the energy sources listed in the first column.

Energy source	Weaknesses	Strengths
Alcohol		
Coal		
Natural gas		
Nuclear		
Oil		
Water		
Wind		
Solar		
Synthetic fuels		
Other:		

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Worksheet 12

Energy

Energy Survey

Below are several statements about energy sources and energy issues in the United States today. Circle A if you agree, D if you disagree, or U if you are undecided.

	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
1. I believe that both domestic and world supplies of oil will be depleted within fifty years.	A	D	U
2. We should expand the use of renewable sources of energy such as sun, wind, and water.	A	D	U
3. The government should take the lead in developing new energy technologies.	A	D	U
4. Major unanswered questions remain about the safety of nuclear power plants.	A	D	U
5. The Department of Energy should be abolished.	A	D	U
6. The risk involved in generating nuclear power is minor and should not block the construction of new nuclear power plants.	A	D	U
7. I would be willing to change my lifestyle in order to conserve energy.	A	D	U
8. The energy crisis is over.	A	D	U
9. The United States should spend more money on energy research.	A	D	U
10. The free market should be relied upon to ensure the energy consumption of our nation.	A	D	U

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Worksheet 13

Environment

Complete the following chart using *Current Issues* and any other sources of information you may need.

Type of pollution or environmental problem	Source or cause	Damage it causes	Extent of damage to date	Damage projections	Legislation dealing with the problem	Your suggestions for dealing with the problem
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						

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Worksheet 14

Environment

After reading "Environment" in *Current Issues*, complete the following cost/benefit chart.

Issue	Benefits of control	Costs of control
Acid rain		
Toxic waste		
Solid waste		
Other pollution or environmental problems		

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Worksheet 15

Agriculture

1. List the problems and issues facing agriculture in the United States during each of the time periods listed below.

Progressive era	
Great Depression	
Today	

2. What similarities and differences do you see when you compare these time periods?

3. What conclusions might you draw from this comparison?

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Worksheet 16

Crime

Crime Survey

Below are several questions about crime. Circle the appropriate choice. Please circle your age group.

below 18 18-26 27-35 36-50 51-65 over 65

	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Have you ever been a victim of a crime or do you know someone who has?	Y	N	U
2. Do you think that crime is increasing in this community?	Y	N	U
3. Do you think that crime is a serious problem in this community?	Y	N	U
4. Do you think that criminal suspects should lose all rights?	Y	N	U
5. Do you think that criminal penalties should be increased?	Y	N	U
6. Do you think that all criminals who commit the same crime should receive the same punishment?	Y	N	U
7. Do you think that use of the death penalty should be increased?	Y	N	U
8. Do you favor registration of handguns?	Y	N	U

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Crime

1. Why is your topic important?

2. What problems or issues does your topic pose?

3. List the positions that can be taken with regard to your topic.

4. What arguments can be offered to support each position?

5. What evidence did you find to support those arguments?

6. Who might be influenced by each position? How might they be influenced?

7. What are the costs to society of each position?

8. What are the benefits to society of each position?

9. What additional information would you like to have before making a policy recommendation? Where might you find this information?

10. What are your recommendations on this issue?

11. What steps can you take to promote adoption of your policy?

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Worksheet 18

The Soviet Union

List important events in U.S.-Soviet relations and place them in appropriate places along the timeline. Write a brief statement of each event's impact on the relations between the two countries and then rate each five-year period from 5 (very positive) to 1 (very negative).

Time period	Event	Impact on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations	Rating (1 to 5)
1945-49			
1950-54			
1955-59			
1960-64			
1965-69			

Time period	**Event**	**Impact on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations**	**Rating (1 to 5)**
1970-74			
1975-79			
1980-84			
1985-present			

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Worksheet 19

Defense

Student Pretest

1. What percentage of the federal budget is spent for defense in the United States?

2. List five things that would happen if the United States doubled its defense budget.

3. List five things that would happen if the United States cut its defense budget in half.

4. Name four countries that the United States helps defend.

5. Name four countries that the Soviet Union helps defend.

6. What would happen if the Soviet Union dismantled its military?

7. What would happen if the United States dismantled its military?

8. Predict how many students in this class will serve in the military. Will you be one of them?

9. What is national security and how can you measure it?

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Worksheet 20

Defense

Use "Defense" in *Current Issues* to answer the following questions.

1. What two functions can a strong military serve?

2. What nation does the United States view as its most likely opponent?

3. What is the basis of U.S. military strategy?

4. What are the assumptions underlying the concept of MAD?

5. To what nations is the United States committed to help defend? Should the United States commit to the defense of more nations? Of fewer nations?

6. What were the two most important U.S. military efforts against communism during the Cold War?

7. What is the War Powers Act and why is it important?

8. What was President Reagan's reason for the defense buildup during his administration? Do you agree with it? Why or why not?

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Worksheet 21

Defense

1. List costs and benefits to you as an individual and to society resulting from a large reduction in defense spending.

	Costs	Benefits
Individual		
Society		

2. List costs and benefits to you as an individual and to society resulting from a large increase in defense spending.

	Costs	Benefits
Individual		
Society		

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Worksheet 22

Central America

This activity is designed to help you collect, organize, and compare information about the nations of Central America. Collect the information about your assigned country and share it with other members of your group. You should use *Current Issues* and a variety of other books and current events resources.

Country: ______________________________

1. What are the major social issues in this country?

2. What are the major political issues in this country?

3. What are the major economic issues in this country?

4. What are the major military issues in this country?

5. How strong is the political opposition (if there is opposition)?

6. What is the historical relationship of this country with the United States?

7. Have reform efforts been successful? To what degree?

8. Describe what you expect this country to be like in five or ten years. What will be the same and what will be different?

9. If you were the leader of this country, what changes would you want to make? What roadblocks would you anticipate, and how would you deal with them?

10. What, if anything, do you think the United States should to do help this country? Justify your answer.

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The Middle East

Interest group you represent: ______________________________

1. What is your primary objective?

2. What would be the ideal resolution of this situation for you?

3. What would be an acceptable compromise for you?

4. What outcomes would you be unwilling to accept?

5. What are you willing to offer to please all of the interested groups?

6. Complete the following chart by listing the costs and benefits of your peace plan for each country.

	Costs	**Benefits**
Egypt		
Israel		
Jordan		
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)		
Palestinians who reject PLO leadership		
Soviet Union		
Syria		
United States		

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Worksheet 24

International Trade

A. You have been asked to analyze the chart on the U.S. trade deficit in *Current Issues*. Answer the following questions about the chart.

1. What is this chart trying to convey?

2. How much were the trade deficits in 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1988?

3. What trends do you see?

4. Is there any evidence to suggest that the long-term trend may be changing?

5. What are some implications of the information on this chart for the country, your family, and you?

B. You have been asked to analyze the photo of the chained and locked factory gate in *Current Issues*. Answer the following questions about the photo.

1. What message is the photo trying to convey?

2. What do you think this photo says about the U.S. economy?

3. Do you think the photo tells an accurate story about U.S. industry?

4. If the photo's message is accurate, what are the implications for the country, your friends, and you?

C. You have been asked to analyze the photographs in *Current Issues* of the Coca Cola billboard and the Nissan cars being unloaded at the dock. Answer the following questions about the photos.

1. How do these photos contrast?

2. What can you learn from them?

3. Should Americans be concerned about the photo of the cars on the dock? Why or why not?

4. What is the relationship between the photos and the U.S. trade deficit?

D. Answer the following questions about the chart or photos. Everyone is to answer these questions.

1. What do these items suggest about the United States and world trade?

2. Do you think that the trade deficit is a problem? Why or why not?

3. Can you identify some people who might be hurt by a continuing trade deficit?

4. What would you like to know about the trade deficit?

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International Trade

In this assignment, you are trying to help yourself and your partner learn the most significant information about the background of the U.S. trade deficit. Each item represents a head in the "Background" section of *Current Issues*. For each item, write down the most significant information. Share this with your partner. Each of you will do alternate sections. One will do items 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 while the other will do items 2, 4, 6, and 8.

Heads:

1. Why Do Nations Trade?

2. Protectionism

3. Trade Wars and the Great Depression

4. American Trade Leadership in the Postwar Era

5. Encouraging International Trade

6. The Trade Deficit

7. How the Budget Deficit Affects Trade

8. American Productivity

9. U.S. Trading Relationships

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Worksheet 26

International Trade

You are to develop and defend a comprehensive plan for reducing the trade deficit. To do this you must evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of several approaches. Consider the steps necessary to implement each approach and what factors might make it difficult to make that approach work. This worksheet will assist with your evaluation. Answer each of the following questions for your assigned topic.

1. What are the strengths of this approach?

2. What are the weaknesses of this approach?

3. How likely is this approach to be adopted?

4. What factors might block this approach from being adopted?

5. What would have to occur for this approach be accepted?

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Worksheet 27

Western Europe

List in chronological order the major events in U.S.-European relations since the beginning of World War I, and briefly state the results or changes brought about by the events. Also, jot down what impact the event had on the relationship between the United States and European countries.

Event	Political results or changes	Economic results or changes	Military results or changes	Impact on U.S.-Western Europe relations

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Worksheet 28

Nuclear Proliferation

Complete the following chart to help you assess how successful efforts to stop nuclear proliferation have been. List five treaties or actions found in *Current Issues*.

Treaty or action	Nations involved	Terms of agreement	Success of agreement	Reason for success or failure

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World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

Write a one-sentence reaction to each of the following items:

1. Every day 35,000 people die of starvation.

2. Each year 14 million children die of disease.

3. Approximately one-third of the world's population lives on less than $300 per year.

4. In half of the world, pure water is unavailable.

5. About half the people in the world cannot read or write.

6. A century ago the world's population doubled every 115 years; today it doubles every forty years.

7. Most of the world's people do not have electricity or running water.

8. Birthrates in less developed countries are about double those of industrialized nations.

9. In 1950, one person in fifteen suffered from malnutrition; today one in eight suffers from malnutrition.

10. Poor countries buy more from the United States than from Europe and Japan combined.

11. Japan spends more than the United States on foreign aid.

12. Every year since 1985, the U.S. foreign aid budget has been reduced.

13. The United States gives about $14 billion in aid to foreign countries each year.

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Worksheet 30

World Poverty and U.S. Foreign Aid

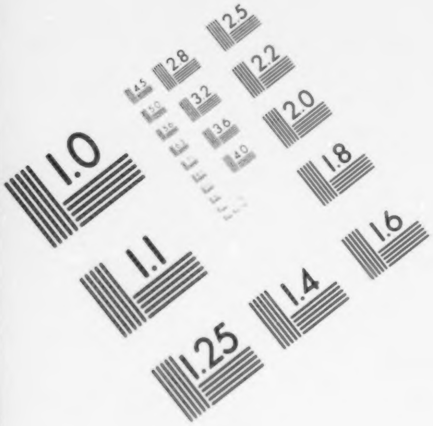
Complete the cost/benefit chart for each issue.

1. The United States should reduce foreign aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
Third World		

2. Politics should determine who receives U.S. aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
Third World		



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Centimeter
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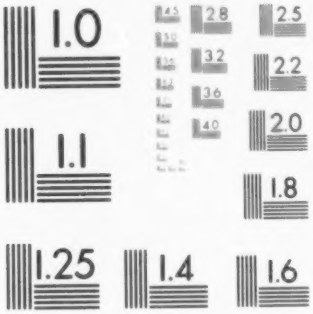
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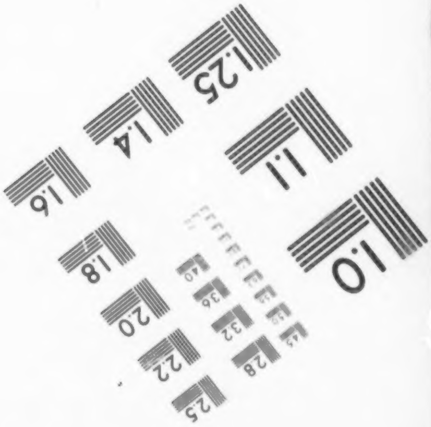

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3. The industrialized world should share its wealth with Eastern Europe.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
Third World		

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Worksheet 31

South Africa

Answer the following questions to help you prepare your group's report to the United Nations on South Africa's racial policies.

1. What is apartheid? How does it influence both blacks and whites who live with its restrictions.

2. What factors support the continuation of apartheid? How has South Africa's white minority population been able to maintain apartheid?

3. What domestic and international factions oppose apartheid? Why have opponents not been more effective? What must opponents do to become more effective?

4. What changes have recently been made in the policy of apartheid? What are the implications of such changes? Does a peaceful transition to abolishing apartheid seem likely? Why or why not?

5. What are the U.S. interests in South Africa? What steps should the United States take to protect those interests? Is U.S. cooperation with the current government in South Africa the best way to achieve our long-term objectives? Why or why not?

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Japan

Nation you represent: ______________________________

1. What would you like to gain in trade negotiations with the other side?

   Hint: Japan—Pay particular attention to maintaining profitable U.S. market for Japanese goods, U.S. saving patterns, the federal deficit, and U.S. sensitivity to Japanese culture.

   United States—Pay particular attention to access to Japanese markets, Japanese consumer behavior, and the trade deficit.

2. What are you willing to give up to achieve your objective?

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3. From the perspective of your government, consider the costs and benefits of each of the following:

	Costs	Benefits
Opening the Japanese market to more U.S.-finished products		
U.S. restrictions on Japanese investments in the United States		
U.S. trade barriers on Japanese goods		
A U.S.-Japanese trade war		
Your proposed trade agreement		

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Worksheet 33

Japan

Write the best pro and con arguments for each position. Under each argument, list as many pieces of evidence supporting that argument as you can find. Rank the order of arguments from strongest to weakest.

1. The United States should continue its current expenditures for Japan's defense.

Pro

Con

2. The United States should drastically reduce its expenditures for Japan's defense.

Pro

Con

CLOSE UP

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